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The New York Times
8-page supplement

Villeneuve wins Formula One crown
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The ugliness of the kitchen-sink drama
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Primakov: We aren't arming Iran Late-night effort on conversion compromise

By JAY BUSHINSKY
Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov denied yesterday that Moscow is helping Iran build a ballistic missile arsenal. Regardless of that statement and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's insistence that Israeli intelligence indicates to the contrary, the two governments say they intend to tighten their relations and work together toward Middle East peace. With Netanyahu standing at his side at the end of a one-on-one session that went overtime, Primakov said, "Russia is not doing anything that would



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (left) welcomes Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov to his office yesterday. (Isaac Harari)

Israel doesn't expect Russia to yield on Iran, Page 3
advance Iran toward possession of weapons of mass destruction." Declaring that Russia adheres to UN agreements against the proliferation of missile technology, Primakov said "neither technology nor materials of any kind that could be used in the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction" are being provided to Iran. With regard to Lebanon, Primakov confirmed "Russia's willingness to participate in the multinational commission monitoring violations of the Operation Grapes of Wrath cease-fire, but

ruled out the deployment of Russian troops in the security zone should Israel withdraw. In an earlier meeting with Foreign Minister David Levy, the Russian diplomat dismissed a

question about Moscow's involvement in the Iranian missile program as "baseless rumors." But the prime minister countered unequivocally, saying, "we

are not in agreement on the factual basis." In the final stage of the Netanyahu-Primakov meeting, OC Intelligence Branch Major Gen. Moshe Ya'alon entered the

Prime Minister's Office carrying an attache case that presumably contained evidence of Iran's missile buildup. See IRAN, Page 14

Late-night effort on conversion compromise
By HAIM SHAPIRO and LIAT COLLINS
Representatives of the Reform and Conservative movements seemed last night on the verge of accepting a government proposal to delay submitting petitions to the High Court over registering their converts as Jews and seating representatives on religious councils. Leaders from both movements held marathon conference calls late into the night with their US peers to decide whether to accept a government compromise. The proposal calls for Reform and Conservative leaders to postpone their petitions in exchange for the government holding back Knesset bills demanded by religious parties that would essentially outlaw non-Orthodox conversions and exclude the non-Orthodox from religious councils. Government proposals, as drawn up by the Neeman Committee, also

call for setting up a central institute to which conversion candidates from all religious streams would be sent. Final conversions would be

A guide to the perplexed, Page 3

carried out by an Orthodox rabbinical court. The guidelines also provide for Reform and Conservative rabbis to conduct recognized marriages in Israel in the presence of two witnesses from the Chief Rabbinate. Reform and Conservative leaders said a factor toward accepting the compromise was the presence of more moderate rabbis of the religious kibbutz movement at the Neeman Committee meeting last night.

See EFFORT, Page 2

Levy-Abbas talks in Washington postponed

By JAY BUSHINSKY and STEVE RODAN
Foreign Minister David Levy confirmed yesterday that the US-sponsored talks in Washington that were to include him and the Palestinian Authority's Mahmoud Abbas, will have to be put off. They were due to begin Wednesday. "For me to travel there has to be a thorough discussion with the prime minister and the cabinet," Levy said, answering questions put to him after he met his Russian counterpart, Yevgeny Primakov. "The purpose of these meetings would be to produce guidelines for negotiation and parameters" on such issues as further redeployment and curtailment of settlement activity. Levy is insisting that he be given a mandate to allow for Israeli concessions. Levy will meet with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu today, and according to the

foreign minister, the cabinet session will be held on Wednesday. This would make it impossible for Levy to be in Washington before the end of the week. Palestinian sources contend the State Department has had second thoughts about hosting the projected Israeli-Palestinian meeting because of persistent doubts that it will produce positive results. The fact that Secretary of State Madeleine Albright - who is to participate in the talks - is due to attend the World Economic Forum in Qatar on November 5 may prevent her from hosting Levy and Abbas until well after that event. PA officials said until the Israelis clarify their position and Levy's participation in the meeting is assured, Palestinian negotiators will stay home. "We might not go to Washington because Levy might not go to Washington," PA negotiator and Local Government Minister Saeb Erekat said. "Levy

said he doesn't have a mandate as such. If they want to take us for a ride to Washington, they'd better not do it." Erekat said Levy's hesitation in leaving for Washington is proof that Netanyahu does not intend to negotiate seriously with the Palestinians. "The honesty of Mr. Levy leaves no doubt that Mr. Netanyahu has no intention of implementing the interim steps," he said. "He enjoys the process of meetings without anything substantive." The PA minister said he did not know how long the talks would be postponed. PA sources expect the talks could begin next week. Other PA officials said so far no progress has been reported in the meetings of the nine committees formed to implement the interim accord signed earlier this year. The deadlock, the officials said, include talks over opening the airport and seaport in Gaza.

TASE slumps 3%
Shares were sharply lower yesterday on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, in the first trading session since world markets went on the decline following the Hong Kong plunge. "Basically it's looking very, very fragile," said Danielle Finn, head of sales at Ilanot Betucha. The benchmark Mishtanim index of top shares fell 3.33 percent, or 10.34 points, to 299.82 on a turnover of NIS 256 million, against NIS 188m. on Tuesday, the last day of trading before Simhat Torah. The Maof blue-chip index closed 3.03% lower, at 309.35. Full story, Page 10

Mubarak opens Nile-Sinai canal

CAIRO (Reuters) - Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak opened a new canal yesterday to carry Nile water beneath the Suez Canal to irrigate the arid Sinai peninsula. He pushed a button to send water flooding through four Suez tunnels into the Sinai, where planners say it will eventually irrigate 2,480 sq. kms of desert and allow 1.5 million Nile Valley residents to resettle there. The project, partly financed by Kuwait, cost more than \$1.62 billion. Mubarak's government is pushing ambitious projects to water the desert from Egypt's lifeline, the Nile, and build new towns to relieve pressure on cities like Cairo, already bursting at the seams with around 16 million people. Given the country's harsh demographic arithmetic, it has little choice. Egypt has more than 60 million people and now spends about \$3 billion a year on food imports to supplement what it can grow on the scant 5 percent of its

land that is cultivable. The population, double what it was 50 years ago, is set to double again in the next half-century. "We are planning to increase the cultivated area by 1.36 million hectares by 2017," Hussein Atfy, undersecretary at the ministry of public works and water resources, said. Earlier this year, Mubarak gave the go-ahead for work to start on the Toshka project in southwest Egypt near the Sudanese border. It calls for a canal to be dug from just upstream of the Aswan High Dam to irrigate 500,000 acres. The plan also provides for exploiting ground water from desert oases to enable another 500,000 acres to be farmed. Work is already under way to carry Nile water to about 150,000 acres of desert in the northeast. Experts say the government must be careful not to rush into too many large-scale projects without being sure that enough water is available from this limited resource.

THE HAIFA (04) YELLOW PAGES IN ENGLISH



The Haifa Yellow Pages Directory in English will shortly be sent free of charge, by mail, to all Jerusalem Post subscribers in the 04 dialing area. It will also be available at all news stands in that area, on October 31, 1997.

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NEWS

in brief

Temple Mount terrorist released

Alan Goodman, a US-born man who was serving a life sentence for killing two Arabs on the Temple Mount, was released yesterday from Ayalon Prison, after his sentence was reduced and he agreed to move back to the US. He was taken directly to Ben-Gurion Airport, where he boarded a US-bound flight.

Goodman, who holds dual citizenship, must spend the next eight years in the US before he can return, under a deal reached earlier this month between his lawyer and the parole board.

On April 11, 1982, Goodman opened fire on Arabs praying on the Temple Mount, killing two and wounding nine. *Itim*

Temple Mount activists arrested

Seven members of the right-wing group Hai Vekayam were arrested by Jerusalem police yesterday for attempting to enter the Temple Mount compound. The seven were prevented by the police from praying there, as a crowd of Arabs gathered around them. The seven were arrested after they refused a request by police to leave the area. *Elli Wohlgelemer*

Hanegbi seeks to change extradition law

Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi said yesterday that he plans to revise the extradition law which grants refuge in Israel to citizens accused of committing crimes abroad. At a briefing with legal affairs reporters, Hanegbi said that draft amendments have already been drawn up but weren't being introduced yet so as not to coincide with the current extradition case of a teenager wanted by Maryland as a murder suspect. *Botshva Tsur*

Haredi suspect held in Bar-Ilan beating

A 55-year-old haredi man was arrested yesterday as a suspect in an assault on a couple from Pisgat Ze'ev as they drove down Bar-Ilan Street in Jerusalem on Saturday.

The man and woman were beaten while inside the car by a crowd of haredim, after they stopped to avoid running over a haredi man who tried to block their way. Both received medical treatment. Their identities were not released.

The suspect, who also was not identified, has admitted being linked to the assault, police said. They said that more arrests were expected. *Itim*

EU to send delegation to Middle East

European Union foreign ministers agreed yesterday to send a delegation to the Middle East early next month to lend support to US efforts to break a deadlock in peace negotiations there, headed by Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, who last week met Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat in Germany, called on Israel to end its policy of settling Jews in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which the EU ministers agreed violated international law. *Reuters*

Symposium offers two views of Jerusalem

The solution to Jerusalem is a simple, modified slogan borrowed from America," said MK Ze'ev Begin at a Jerusalem Foundation symposium held last night. "Jerusalem: One city, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Begin said the issue of Jerusalem is difficult, because of the false premise that most people believe all problems have solutions. "For now, Jerusalem is insoluble," he said.

His opponent at the symposium, entitled "Two Perspectives on the Future of Jerusalem" and chaired by Jerusalem Post president and publisher Norman Spector, was MK Yossi Beilin, who espoused a more optimistic view on the capital's future. *Elli Wohlgelemer*

Clinton to meet with Peres, Leah Rabin

US President Bill Clinton will meet with Shimon Peres and Leah Rabin next month.

An aide to Rabin confirmed yesterday that she and Peres will present Clinton with an award from their peace foundation on November 21.

Meanwhile, White House spokesman Mike McCurry denied that Clinton was refusing to meet Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, who will be in the US in mid-November. *AP*

PM: No pullback without anti-terror guarantees

By JAY BUSHINSKY

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu said yesterday that the government would object to handing over more land to Palestinian self-rule until it received guarantees that these areas wouldn't be used as terrorist bases.

Netanyahu also told the weekly cabinet session that while the Palestinian Authority has started to fight terrorism, "there has been a definite retreat" in several aspects of its operations.

The Prime Minister said a special cabinet session would be held Wednesday to discuss negotiations with the Palestinians before Foreign Minister David Levy's departure for talks he "may hold in Washington."

The element of doubt implicit in the cabinet communiqué prompted some Palestinian observers to doubt whether US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright would go ahead with plans to preside at a meeting between Levy and the PA's deputy chairman, Mahmoud Abbas.

"She does not want to sponsor a diplomatic failure," one of them said.

Turning to administrative matters, the cabinet approved the appointment of Acting Superintendent Yehuda Wilk as Inspector General of the police. Wilk will take up his new post on January 1.

Science and Technology Minister Michael Eitan proposed that the cabinet discuss data he submitted on incitement to violence and alleged calls for assassinating the prime minister.

Netanyahu responded by contending that there has been "a serious escalation in incitement by left elements in Israel" against the prime minister and the government.

"At issue are expressions which have no place in a proper democratic society," he said.

The cabinet communiqué did not give any examples of the alleged inflammatory language.

In other action, the cabinet:

- Appointed Shmuel Hershkovitz as director of the National Road Safety Administration;
- Appointed Shmuel Einstein as director of the Rural Building and New Settlements Administration;
- Approved the Customs Cooperation Agreement between Israel and Turkey.



Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai leads OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Amiram Levine and other officers through a northern border post yesterday. (Avihu Shapiro/Israel Sam)

IDF, SLA beat back Hizbullah attack

By DAVID RUDGE

IDF and South Lebanese Army soldiers yesterday repulsed what appears to have been an attempt by Hizbullah gunmen to try and overrun a position in the northeastern sector of the security zone.

The foiled attempt follows a number of recent attacks in the same area by three or four Hizbullah squads.

One of the aims of the gunmen in the activities around the Soujud outpost might have been to try and kidnap an IDF soldier, military sources reported.

A South Lebanese Army soldier was seriously wounded in the fighting, during which Hizbullah fired mortars, anti-tank missiles and machine guns at the post.

The attempt to approach the position, however, was thwarted by heavy return fire by IDF and SLA soldiers and gunners. Later, IAF warplanes struck at Hizbullah targets in the Soujud region with the pilots reporting accurate hits.

Earlier, IAF jets raided Ahmed Jibril's PFLP-General Command base at Nuemeh, south of Beirut, for the fourth time in recent days. Reports from Lebanon said an activist who worked as a male

nurse for the organization was killed in the raid.

The IDF Spokesman said that in both raids the pilots reported accurate hits and that all the planes returned safely to their bases.

The air strike on the PFLP-GC base followed early morning bombardments by Hizbullah gunmen on over 15 IDF and SLA positions along the length of the security zone - from the coast to the foothills of Mt. Hermon.

There were no casualties in the long-range mortar and anti-tank missile attacks, which prompted heavy return fire from IDF and SLA gunners. The exchanges began around 6:30 a.m. and lasted for over two hours.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, accompanied by Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak visited a position on the northern border yesterday to receive first-hand reports of the situation in the security zone.

The visit is part of a general assessment that the security establishment is conducting this week of the overall situation in south Lebanon.

The assessment is carried out every six months but is likely to have more significance this time in light of the recent mishaps,

tragedies and high casualties suffered by the IDF. The IDF's methods of operation in the war against Hizbullah are expected to be discussed along with other tactical and strategic issues.

According to Channel 2 news, Shahak informed the cabinet yesterday that the IDF knows very little about the situation and has a serious intelligence problem in trying to penetrate Hizbullah.

Mordechai was briefed by OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Amiram Levine and senior officers. He maintained that despite the recent series of incidents, there was no overriding problem.

He said that all the incidents were being thoroughly investigated and lessons learned were being implemented. Mordechai stressed that the aim was to minimize casualties while increasing the IDF's ability to hit Hizbullah.

Mordechai denied recent reports of tension between himself and Shahak, saying they were working together to tackle the problems.

Levine revealed that the IDF on Friday thwarted concerted attacks by "three or four Hizbullah squads" whose primary aim was apparently to hit tanks and IDF troops "and perhaps even to try and kidnap a soldier."

'Wakf not building on Temple Mount'

By ELLI WOHLGELEMER

A growing brouhaha over alleged building by the Wakf on the Temple Mount seemed to have quieted down yesterday, after Minister of Internal Affairs Avigdor Kahalani was quoted as saying that the government would not allow the building, and would order the use of force to prevent it.

The Wakf was reportedly planning to build a new guard post by the Magrabi Gate, as well as a new floor over the area of Solomon's Stables.

"Nothing has been built, and nothing has been torn down," said a ministry source, who added that if the Wakf wanted to repair an existing building, that would be permitted. "It's not a story, it's only been shouting on both sides," the source said.

Adnan Hussaini, director of the Wakf (the Moslem religious trust),

accused interest groups with ulterior motives of misleading the government regarding the Wakf's intentions of building on the Temple Mount, and asked Kahalani to tone down his rhetoric.

"The statements I heard from the police minister were harsh and particularly unexpected," Hussaini said on Israel Radio. "They very much affected the Moslems, because the minister of police should have shown more sensitivity and used milder expressions with regard to inaccurate information that was given to him." Hussaini denied any intention of building any new structures on the Temple Mount, but was just planning on renovating an existing building used by guards.

The whole issue became a story when a leaker was leaked to the press from Antiquities Authority director Amir Drori to Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein, saying that the

new floor covering was both illegal and destructive, and that he recommended that it be forbidden to bring construction materials and workers to the Temple Mount.

The matter was brought up at the weekly cabinet meeting yesterday morning, when Minister of Absorption Yuli Edelstein asked Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Kahalani why the government had not done anything about the illegal building on the Temple Mount.

Edelstein quoted Drori's letter, and warned the government that if it did not take a clear stand on the matter it was liable to lead to extreme Jewish groups taking the law into their own hands.

Netanyahu then asked cabinet secretary Dan Naveh to collect information on the matter, and to update the government at a future cabinet meeting.

EFFORT

Continued from Page 1

Rabbinical authorities have previously rejected compromise, and were suggesting a compromise stance for the first time last night, the Reform and Conservative leaders said.

But their flexibility also followed some stepped-up pressure from Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, who threatened yesterday to present the religious councils and conversion bills to the Knesset today, if the High Court petitions went ahead.

Leaders of The Third Way and Yisrael Ba'aliya parties, who had said in the past they would vote against religious legislation, also indicated yesterday they would vote for the bills if the non-Orthodox movements did not agree to the proposed freeze.

A top delegation of Reform rabbis from the US and elsewhere, led by Rabbi Amiel Hirsch, head of Arza, the Reform movement's Zionist arm in the US, arrived yesterday and met with Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu on the issue.

The rabbis told Netanyahu that passage of the Conversion Law, which would give the Chief Rabbinate the authority to validate all conversions carried out in Israel and would thus invalidate all non-Orthodox conversions done in Israel, would be a slap in the face to the American Jewish community, which largely identifies with the Reform and Conservative movements.

The rabbis said that Netanyahu told them the unity of the Jewish people is of utmost importance to him and that, just as he seeks diversity in economics, he wants diversity in Jewish expression. However, Netanyahu also reportedly told the rabbis that he needs time to achieve this goal.

Rabbi Uri Regev, director of the Reform Movement's Israel Religious Action Committee, seemed less willing than others yesterday to accept the compromise. He said the delays in court action would serve the interests of the rabbinical establishment and the religious parties, which

have been fighting to prevent any changes that could endanger their monopoly on religious matters.

"The religious parties have always been willing to delay any action until the coming of the Messiah in order to preserve the status quo," Regev said.

Regev also said that converts who had petitioned the court would suffer as a result of the delays.

The first High Court hearing, scheduled for Wednesday, would hear a petition to seat Reform and Conservative representatives on the religious councils of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Kiryat Tivon. Since the Court has already ruled that a Reform representative could join the Netanyahu religious council, it was expected to make a similar ruling on Wednesday.

Next week, the High Court is due to receive the attorney-general's response to a petition calling for the registration as Jews of adopted infants converted by the Conservative Movement in Israel.

It was also due to rule on the case of a woman who studied in Israel and was then converted by a Liberal rabbinical court in London, and of two infants, adopted abroad, who were converted by the same rabbinical court before being brought to Israel. In all these cases the Interior Ministry has refused to register the converts as Jews.

Meanwhile, National Religious Fari, MKs were expected to meet this afternoon to discuss a proposal by three members to adopt the Neeman

Committee's recommendations on the conversion bill. The MKs - Hanan Porat, Zvi Hendel, and Shmaryahu Ben-Tsur - spoke of a need to avoid creating a split in the Jewish world and to find a mutually acceptable solution which would avert the need to pass the conversion bill. Hendel called the committee's work "an historic opportunity to reach a compromise among all streams of Judaism."

Botshva Tsur contributed to this report.

Aide to Tirawi says lawyers can visit jail

By STEVE RODAN

A Palestinian Authority security official yesterday denied a reported ban on visits by attorneys to their clients in prisons operated by the PA General Intelligence Service.

"There is no ban and those attorneys who want to visit can," a senior aide to General Intelligence Service Chief Col. Tawfiq Tirawi said. "Of course, you have to ask for permission and give us several days notice." He said that at no time did Tirawi halt such visits.

The aide said he was unfamiliar with the complaint made on Saturday by LAW, the Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and Environment. The Jerusalem-based group said Tirawi had told its director, Khader Shkirat,

that none of the attorneys could visit clients in the GIS prisons.

The senior aide stressed that the GIS does respond to requests from Eyal Sarraj's group, the Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights, which is aligned with the PA. Sarraj's organization does not issue reports or make public its investigations into alleged violations.

A prominent human rights activist who did not want to be named said part of the problem stemmed from an intense rivalry between Palestinian human rights organizations, which receive financial support from abroad. The activist said the organizations do not cooperate and sometimes peddle misinformation as a way of highlighting their activity.

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Tantur Institute is at the corner of Harosmarin Street and Hebron Road, on the way to Gilo and just north of the Bethlehem checkpoint. Turn south on Hebron Road, right on to Harosmarin and left through the Tantur gate. Parking near auditorium. Bus 30 stops at the gate. Bus 31 stops nearby.

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ARRIVALS

The Anti-Defamation League's Executive Mission including Abraham Foxman, National Director, Howard Berkeswitz, National Chairman, Gila Tobi, Chairman of the International Affairs Committee and Irit Hochberg, Chairman of the Jerusalem Task Force.

مكتبة التوحيد

Guide

PALESTINIAN

Antisemitism

NEWS

in brief

Israel visa scam in Kiev

Interior Ministry officials yesterday revealed that non-Jews were obtaining visas to enter Israel as new immigrants by paying for false affidavits sworn to by Jews in court stating that they were their biological parents, which the non-Jews then used to obtain visas. A ministry spokesman said a family of immigrants recently arrived here with visas obtained in the Kiev consulate in this way. Interior Ministry officials are looking into the matter. Arjeh Dean Cohen

Ministry blamed for losses at tourism sites

The Education Ministry is causing millions of shekels in losses to tourism sites by failing to address a dispute which is keeping schools from sending pupils on outings, Ramat Negev Local Council Chairman Shmuel Rifman charged yesterday. Rifman said in a letter to Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, that the cancellations is causing serious educational damage to the pupils. Most of the school trips have been halted due to a dispute between the Secondary School Teachers Association and the ministry over payment for teachers on the trips. Arjeh Dean Cohen

Murder suspect released on bail

Ze'ev Rosenstein, who police suspect murdered Ilan Aslan and Ya'acov Kahalon and contracted for the murder of Manny Aslan - which was foiled by police - was released on NIS 170,000 bail yesterday by the Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court and placed under house arrest for 30 days. Judge Rachel Greenberg said she was not convinced police have any new evidence against Rosenstein and that the investigation was going in circles. The judge, however, agreed to delay Rosenstein's release until today, to give the police a chance to appeal. Jim

Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz for president of Israel?

By MARGOT DUDKEWITZ

Seeking to establish an alternative Jewish leadership that will appeal to both the Right and Left, the Jewish Leadership Movement declared at their latest gathering that the movement would promote Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz as a candidate for president next year. Apparently, no one has approached Steinsaltz on the matter. One of the movement's founders, Mordechai Karpel, stressed that Steinsaltz's name was raised as an example of the role model the movement is seeking, but that at least another six candidates are being discussed. He told Arutz 7 that former Supreme Court deputy president Menahem Elon and Rabbi Yisrael Ariel were among the others being touted as candidates. He added that during the coming months the movement's leaders would approach the different candidates. He also invited the public to offer suggestions. "We need a president that will represent our Jewish identity," he added. "We believe that the general public does not need a religious identity but a Jewish identity and we hope to base our consensus on that belief." Steinsaltz's name was raised by a government minister, Karpel said, but he refused to say which one. The movement is a political one

that is not affiliated or identified with any political party, Karpel said. He added that future plans include lobbying MKs and government ministers, and he did not rule out the possibility of running in the next general elections and putting up a candidate for prime minister. "That, obviously, will depend on the kind of support we will receive from government ministers," he said, noting that if the government adopts its agenda there would be no need to establish another political party. The movement, established over a year ago, organized its first rally on the eve of Pessah this year, Karpel said, adding that the rally Saturday night was attended by over 2,000 people, even though it had barely been advertised other than in the movement's newsletter. Over 50,000 receive the newsletter, which is distributed mainly in synagogues, Karpel said. Karpel stressed that the plan to support a presidential candidate should not be perceived as a condemnation of President Ezer Weizman. "He represents the people of Israel, but we feel there is a demand for someone to represent the Jewishness of the Israeli people," Karpel told Israel Radio. While the movement had attracted the support of various religious sectors, Karpel stressed that secular people had also expressed an interest in the movement.

Prisons Service denies hiding release of Nitzanim terrorists

By ARJEH O'SULLIVAN

The Prisons Service yesterday denied trying to hide the fact that five of the terrorists freed in the Mashaal-Mossad prisoner swap were members of the Abul Abbas squads that tried to attack Tel Aviv from the sea in 1990. "We never tried to hide anything," said spokeswoman Orit Messer-Harel. "It was late and we released everything we had on them. There was no conspiracy and I never had any contact with the Prime Minister's Office. We don't know everything [the prisoners] did." At the time, Messer-Harel's office issued a statement listing the nine prisoners being freed. According to the list, the five captured on the May 29, 1990 raid were imprisoned for belonging to an "unknown organization," carrying out military train-

ing, and possessing weapons. They were all serving 30-year sentences. The Prisons Service announcement did not mention the fact that they were members of the Abul Abbas terrorist squads who tried

to launch a massive raid on Tel Aviv. In the event, the raiding parties got lost - with one group of five terrorists surrendering immediately upon landing near Kibbutz Ga'ash, north of Tel Aviv.

The others were part of a group of 11 which outran patrol vessels and splashed ashore near Nitzanim Beach. A helicopter gunship pinned them down until IDF forces overran them, killing four and capturing seven. It is not clear whether the five released were from the boat that landed at Nitzanim or at Ga'ash. The terrorists told their interrogators that their mission was to carry out an attack on Tel Aviv hotels and conduct a massacre. The Prisons Service statement noted that none of the prisoners had killed anyone. The prisoners are to remain jailed in Jordan.

Itim adds: Meretz MK Ran Cohen yesterday wrote State Comptroller Miriam Ben-Porat asking her to investigate who was responsible for disseminating the lie about the prisoners to the public. Cohen wrote that since the orders to lie had come from the Prime Minister's Office and defrauding the public is the "foundation stone" of this government, it is incumbent upon her to conduct an inquiry.



Termer: They met our criteria

Former police inspector general Ya'acov Termer yesterday justified the exchange deal with Jordan over the Mashaal affair, in which five Palestinian terrorists who had planned to carry out a murderous attack on Tel Aviv were traded for Mossad operatives. "We were fortunate and so were the terrorists that they did not kill or wound anybody and therefore they were in the status of 'hot' having blood on their hands," said Termer. "It is not the first time that Israel has released detainees in exchange for soldiers who were sent into battle and themselves were taken prisoner."

"In this respect, members should not be seen as being soldiers. Other governments in the past have released prisoners in order to free our people, a matter which creates internal opposition. I don't think there was anything wrong. If we determined that we had members of Hamas or those who were taken in the hands - then these five and the others, who today is in charge of the Force Museum at Hebron."

Furor erupts over hiding rapist's identity

By MICHAL YUDELMAN

A public outcry arose yesterday, following a report in Ha'aretz that Bnei Brak dentist Amos Buchnik claims to know the identity of a notorious rapist, but will only reveal it if an investigation of Rabbi Eliezer Abuhatzera is dropped. Former internal security minister Moshe Shahal and MK Yael Dayan called on the police to immediately haul Buchnik in for questioning about the rape and attempted murder of a young female soldier, which sent shock waves throughout the country 12 years ago. On August 16, 1985 the soldier hitched a lift with a man near Ramat Hovav. The driver attacked her, tore off her clothes, and raped her. He then shot her in the head and threw her naked from the car, leaving her for dead. But she managed to crawl for some 20 hours in the desert until she was found by three Beduin youths, who called for help. The rapist, dubbed "the rapist from the South," was never caught. The soldier remained in a coma for nearly two months, after which the only identifying particular she could recall about the attack was that the man drove a Subaru. Ha'aretz's Yossi Bar-Moha reported yesterday that Buchnik offered to tell him who the rapist is,

if it stopped publishing exposes about Abuhatzera in Beersheba and the police stopped investigating him. Ha'aretz recently reported alleged tax evasions by Abuhatzera. "It's been lying in my stomach for 12 years," Buchnik told Bar-Moha, saying he had not revealed the rapist's identity for "religious and humane reasons," and because Abuhatzera told him this would amount to handing over a Jew to non-believers (din moser). The head of investigations for the southern police district, Dep.-Cmdr. Arye Lior, told Israel Radio the police could not pressure Buchnik, because he committed no offense. Lior's comment aroused Shahal's anger. "I was filled with fury to hear how the police was handling the affair," Shahal said, adding Buchnik should be questioned and that his withholding evidence is a crime. According to sources in the southern police district, Buchnik told Lior last Tuesday that one of his patients had told him he had raped and shot the woman soldier. The southern district passed on Buchnik's information to national police headquarters, which took charge of the investigation. The national police spokesman said yesterday the police would not bargain with Buchnik, who was not available for comment.



Children's champion

Health Minister Yehoshua Matza presents the ministry's Chesed Award to Willie Trump for his support of programs that help developmentally disabled children. (Assoc. Harari)

Beduin leaders to PM: Fire Rafael Eitan for racist remarks

Beduin leaders are demanding that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu fire Agriculture and Environment Minister Rafael Eitan, following publication of what they said were racist remarks Eitan made relating to the Beduin. The remarks were contained in a letter to the prime minister that

Ha'aretz obtained last week. In the letter, Eitan warned against the Beduin taking control of state lands in the Negev, condemned illegal building by Beduin in the area, and complained of violence by Beduin against law enforcement and civilian officials. Eitan also advised disbanding the

IDF desert reconnaissance unit, for fear that armed Beduin might not remain loyal to the state and would lead a violent Beduin uprising. At a press conference yesterday in Beersheba, Eitan said "the document was not aimed against the Beduin, but was meant to warn the government of the problems facing the Beduin at the end of this century, and the need to find a basic solution over the next several years." Publication of parts of the letter Friday caused a storm in Beduin

communities in the South. At a separate press conference yesterday, MK Taleb a-Sanaa (Democratic Arab Party) expressed fear that the government might adapt Eitan's approach as its policy. Instead of involving the Beduin in the development of the Negev, a-Sanaa said, all governments have tried to concentrate them in seven towns. This plan failed, and 80% of the Beduin live in 172 other places, including unrecognized towns. "There are 70,000 Beduin in

unrecognized towns and demolition orders pending against 13,000 homes. All of them have turned into criminals, since no government has given them a chance to live like human beings," a-Sanaa said. Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav, who is responsible for relations with Arabs, rejected Eitan's remarks, saying "No one should cast doubt on their loyalty to the state; 109 fallen Beduin soldiers who gave their lives for the state testify to their sacrifice and loyalty." (Itim)

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TANDOORI Indian Restaurant - Only restaurant where price SHAKES HANDS with QUALITY and quantity smiles. Buffet Lunch NIS 45 (children NIS 23). Open noon-3 p.m.; 7 p.m.-1 a.m. Mercuzim Building, 32 Maskit St. Tel 09-854 6702, Tel/Fax 954 6769.
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EUCALYPTUS - The taste of Israel from Biblical Days. Excellent meat, fish & vegetarian dishes enhanced by a masterful use of herbs and spices. Luncheon specials. Evening entertainment. Flare reviews. Kasher. 7 Horikens St. Tel. 02-624 4331.
KOHINOOR Kasher Indian Restaurant - Kasher 12-portion by Rabbi Yosef Pink. Buffet lunch NIS 47 (children NIS 24) Open 12-4 p.m.; 6 p.m.-midnight. Holiday Inn Hotel, The Crown Plaza Tel. 02-658 8867, Tel/Fax: 02-653 6667.
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THE 7TH PLACE - Popular Jerusalem dining spot, authentic South Indian and dairy cuisine. Spacious, bright and friendly. Live shows every night. Kasher. 37 Hill St. (Beit Agnon - the journalists center). Tel 02-625 4495.
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seven. It is not clear whether five released were from the... The terrorists told their... The Prisons Service stated... to remain jailed in Jordan.



st remark... The Papon trial, in which a former official of the collaborationist Vichy regime is accused of sending 1,560 Jews to Nazi death camps...

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Albright to Jiang: Expect protests

By JIM WOLF

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright predicted yesterday that Chinese President Jiang Zemin would not enjoy a "totally fuzzy time" during his visit to the United States and defended US efforts to open China's political system.

Albright said Jiang would "not have a totally fuzzy time" during the first state visit by a Chinese leader since Beijing crushed the Tiananmen Square democracy movement eight years ago.

what America's really like... a country where people can express their views. And if they're not prepared for it, they ought to be because, I think that Americans feel very strongly about alleged Chinese human-rights violations, she said.

companies to sell billions of dollars of civilian nuclear power plants to China - the expected centerpiece of the US-Chinese summit - was still being worked out, Albright said.



Spanish sheep schlepp - A Shepherd leads 2,000 sheep through central Madrid yesterday. The action was part of a campaign to revive annual migration of livestock along Spain's ancient cattle paths, some of which cross the hearth of the capital.

Mandela urges more action on Nigeria

By DAVID LJUNGGREN

ST. ANDREWS, Scotland (Reuters) - South African President Nelson Mandela yesterday urged Commonwealth leaders to find more ways of pressuring Nigeria to release some of its most eminent political prisoners, officials said.

WORLD

in brief

Islamists charge Algerian polls rigged

PARIS - The outlawed radical Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) accused the Algerian government yesterday of resorting to fraud and unprecedented ballot-rigging in last week's council elections.

Menem may lose congressional majority

BUENOS AIRES - President Carlos Menem's Peronist Party, credited with reversing decades of economic decline in Argentina, may lose its congressional majority as a result of mid-term elections held yesterday.

Van Gogh's 'Sunflowers' painting may be fake

LONDON - Vincent van Gogh's "Sunflowers," one of the world's most valuable paintings, may be a fake, the British Sunday Times newspaper reported, citing investigations by art expert Geraldine Norman.

Iran executes 6 for adultery, prostitution

TEHRAN - Three men and three women have been stoned to death in public in northern Iran after a court found them guilty of adultery and prostitution, the Farsi-language Salam newspaper reported yesterday.

French Right: Leave wartime past alone

By TOM HENEGHAN

PARIS (Reuters) - Another prominent leader has joined a rising conservative chorus urging France to stop washing its dirty linen in public over the war crimes trial of accused Nazi collaborator Maurice Papon.

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Unhappy Returns

Pity the I.R.S., the Tax Code's Whipping Boy

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON

TO many members of Congress, as to working stiff and millionaires alike who dread contact with tax collectors, the Internal Revenue Service too often lives up to its caricature as an unresponsive, intrusive and vindictive bureaucracy. "The power to tax is the power to destroy," Representative Bill Archer, the Texas Republican, said last week as he unveiled legislation intended to give taxpayers a fairer shake when they confront the I.R.S. and to improve the management of the tax-collection agency. Mr. Archer, whose avowed goal is to "get the I.R.S. completely and totally out of the life of every American," may see the agency as an even more tempting punching bag than other legislators, some of whom had the temerity to say that the I.R.S. actually does a pretty good job. But his bill sailed through the Ways and Means Committee with little opposition on its way to the House floor, where it is likely to pass with an overwhelming bipartisan majority.

After some hesitation, Democratic leaders on Capitol Hill decided to support the bill. So did President

Everybody hates the I.R.S. Almost as much as the alternative.

Clinton, who had fought it — primarily because it would dilute executive branch authority over the I.R.S. — but reversed course as the political wind behind the legislation turned into a gale. His surrender all but insured that the measure would become law after the Senate takes up similar legislation, probably early next year.

Yet for all the crowing on both sides of the aisle about strengthening taxpayers' rights, there was also grudging acknowledgment that fixing the I.R.S. is the easy part, and that the real problem lies in the byzantine nature of the tax code itself. Over the years, Congress has found it easy to increase the system's complexity; the tax cut enacted last summer, for example, tripled the number of tax rates on capital gains and established a bewildering array of retirement and college-savings incentives. But Congress has rarely found the will to untangle the knots it creates.

Most of the code's complexity, of course, is there

because Congress tried to make the system fairer, or to use it to encourage some social or economic good, or to make it more responsive to the needs of a constituency, whether a narrow special interest or a broad class of taxpayers. And once a tax break enters the code, its beneficiaries are loath to give it up; just listen to the hue and cry whenever eliminating the mortgage-interest deduction comes up.

But the more complicated the tax code, the more ways there are to interpret what is acceptable and what is a scam. That reality provides a good living for legions of accountants and tax lawyers, but it also imposes on the I.R.S. a role as enforcement agency as well as tax collector. A system that is based on voluntary compliance, and which gives taxpayers wide leeway to calculate their own tax liabilities, could hardly function without some kind of cop on the beat.

The Blood Trail

However menacing the I.R.S. might be, there are plenty of taxpayers who find advantage in a tax code of an organic nature, one that changes to fit changing economic and social circumstances. And Congress's enthusiasm for assailing the easy target presented by the I.R.S. is itself a recognition that changing the agency is much easier politically, and to defenders of the progressive tax system perhaps more effective as well, than adopting a tax code that wouldn't require such an intrusive enforcement agency. "For all our whacking on the I.R.S., the blood trail comes back to us," said Senator Bob Kerrey, the Nebraska Democrat, who was co-chairman of a bipartisan Congressional commission on the tax agency.

The problem is hardly a new one. In his new book, "The Decline (and Fall?) of the Income Tax," Michael J. Graetz, a professor at Yale Law School, tells of how Alexander Hamilton, the country's first Treasury Secretary, persuaded Congress in 1791 to place a tax on liquor, not to raise revenue but to encourage "social discipline." "Politicians have been tinkering with the tax system ever since," Mr. Graetz wrote.

However well intentioned, such tinkering frequently creates unforeseen complications that are then addressed with, yes, more tinkering. The introduction of joint filing for married couples in 1948, for example, effectively created a bias against single filers, which was addressed in 1969 through the introduction of what became known as the "marriage penalty," which is now biting the growing numbers of two-income couples particularly hard — and which Republicans are now proposing to repeal or to scale back.

The last attempt to streamline the tax system came

Continued on Page 4



Tentative Global Profile

China Exports Its Own Uncertainty

By SETH FAISON

CHINA exports so much to the United States that at times it can be hard to find a pair of shoes, a toy or an electrical appliance in an American department store that does not say "Made in China."

Yet China-made, most of the time, does not really mean Chinese. The goods that China ships out by the boatload do not look or feel Chinese. Unlike Italian fashion, French wine or American movies, most Chinese exports have nothing to do with Chinese culture. They are simply low-cost things that, as far as a buyer is concerned, could as easily have come from Madagascar.

As its exports suggest, China cuts a strangely tentative global profile for what is arguably the world's oldest civilization and unarguably its biggest emerging power. This is reflected in its leader, President Jiang Zemin, who arrives in the United States today for a weeklong visit, and in much more about China.

Take culture. China's historical contributions to the world are there all right, beginning with ancient innovations like paper and

China's leader comes here symbolizing its inferiority complex rather than dynamism.

gunpowder. But the highly visible, truly Chinese cultural exports of today are essentially limited to drawing-room chinoiserie and takeout cuisine.

The reason is evident. China is poor and old. Its culture is conservative, glorifying virtues like patience, social grace and education. These are hard sells in an age more interested in youth and sex appeal.

As he tours the United States this week, Mr. Jiang no doubt would like to appear to be the head of a dynamic nation poised to lead the world in the next century.

But China's role in the world, even as it grows economically, seems likely to be circumscribed by its country's uncertainty about itself.

Outsiders often find China impenetrable, blaming its complex language or the Communist legacy that keeps the nation secretive and closed to outsiders. But another explanation lies in the musty nature of Chinese culture. Among the elements that compose China's complicated psyche today, two



An inward-looking culture: ancient, life-size terra-cotta soldiers in Xian.

stand out: its insular, self-satisfied attitude, rooted in the ancient Chinese belief that the nation lay at the center of the world; and the deep sense of inferiority that came with the modern realization that China was actually far behind most of the developed world.

Those two conflicting attitudes coexist in the minds of most Chinese, forming a cultural burden that is hard for Americans to grasp.

In the ancient world, Chinese emperors were accustomed to thinking that China was at the center of the universe, surrounded by tributary states like Japan, Korea and Vietnam. The illusion melted when Western gunboats turned up in China 150 years ago.

China's history over the past century and a half is a story of trying to come to terms with the West. Major political transitions keep mixing Western ideas with Chinese reality: The old imperial system fell to a republican government run by warlords; that fell to a socialist system run by the Communist Party; that is now falling to a capitalist system run by the Communist Party.

Self-Absorbed

After this long and involved progression, Chinese society favors the practical, shuns the romantic and is still far more interested in itself than in anyone else.

"Chinese seldom look at other cultures on their own terms, but always compare them to China," said Zha Jianying, author of a book on popular culture in China. "Why should the world care so much to learn from a culture like that? You can admire or borrow certain achievements, but still not feel attracted by its attitude, which is so self-centered."

Tibetan culture seems to have drawn more passionate adherents in the West in recent years than Chinese culture has — consider Tibet's current vogue in Hollywood.

This fascination may be partly attributable to Tibet's compelling political profile as an occupied land under Chinese domination, but it probably also stems from admiration for its intense, mystical religious devotion, a character lacking in Chinese culture.

Confucianism is still at the root of Chinese culture. And its teachings of obedience, social ritual and respect for elders are clashing with more modern notions of flexibility and directness, leaving many Chinese conflicted and uncertain.

Mr. Jiang personifies this uncertainty. Although 1997 has been the crowning year of his career — he emerged as China's undisputed leader after the death of Deng Xiaoping last February, and presided over a seamless recovery of Hong Kong — he is still

Asian Crash

As markets rose, cash from around the world flowed to the Asian Tiger. But the tiger proved to be made out of paper.

By David E. Sanger

3

Blaming El Niño

Of salmon and sea lions, and the Weather Channel.

By Timothy Egan

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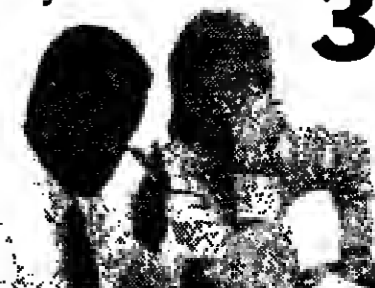


South African Dilemma

Another country's struggle with affirmative action.

By Suzanne Daley

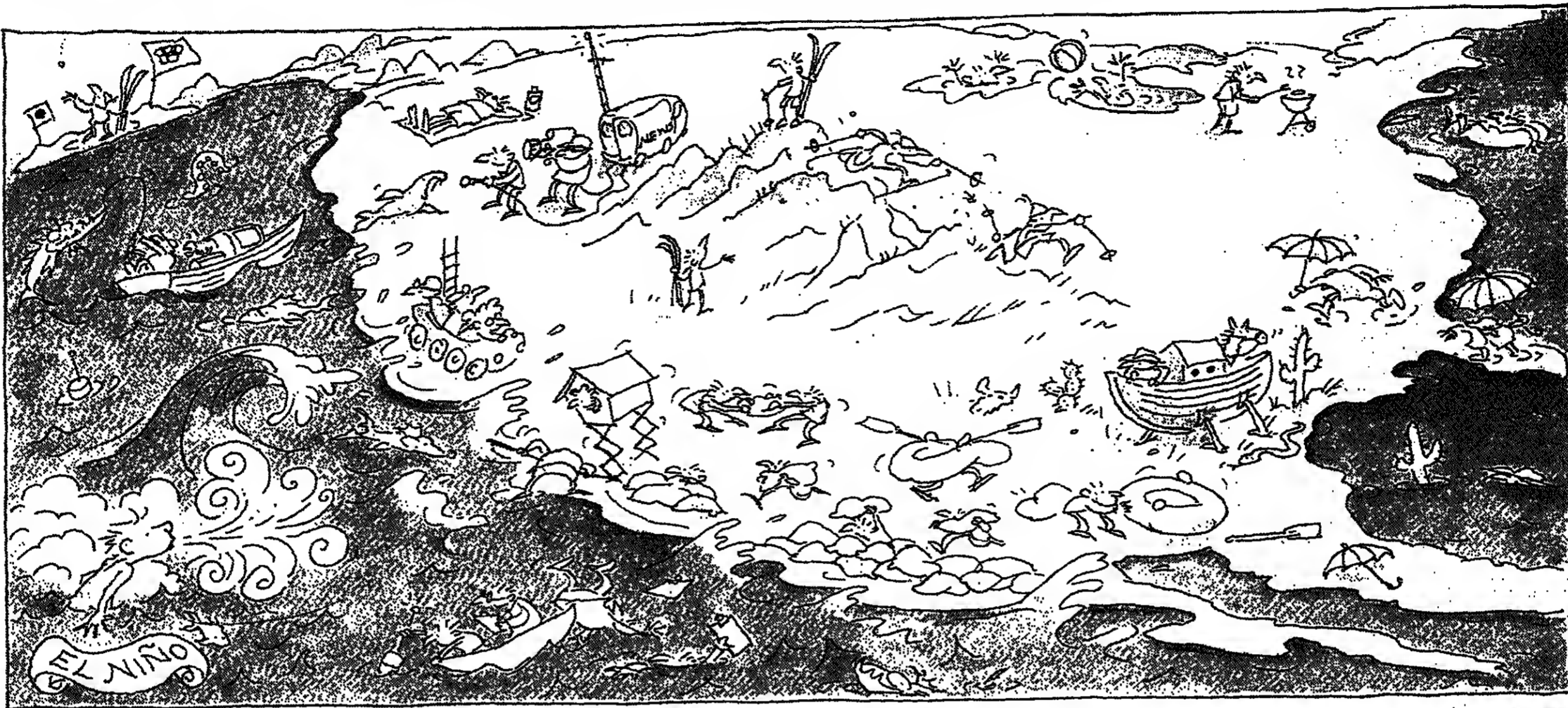
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Continued on Page 3

The Nation

Weather at 11, and More or Less All Winter



Sue Truesdell

By TIMOTHY EGAN

ARICH man this winter may be the one who purchased futures in sand, roofing material and Midwestern grain last summer. Not that there are looming shortages. But enough people think El Niño, the perfectly normal but obsessively observed warming of the Pacific Ocean, will cause such an epic unsettling of winter weather this year that there is already a run on all sorts of things usually taken for granted.

Try hiring a roofing contractor in California; it's a three-month wait in some places. Snow is supposed to be scarce in the places where it is most wanted: ski resorts in the northern Rockies and Nagano, Japan, site of the 1998 Winter Olympics. At the same time, heating oil prices are flat, in large part due to forecasts of a comparatively balmy winter in the northern half of the United States.

But what happens if California is dry, the Northeast is cold, and the jet stream carpet-bombs the Rockies in snow — if there is, in other words, a normal winter? A whole army of climate predictors, web site producers and politicians may have to find new indoor pursuits.

El Niño is real, no question about it. Temperatures in the eastern Pacific in August and September were higher than any recorded in 50 years. And that mass of warm surface water, radiating an infrared weather maps like the coals of a fake fire, is now about the size of Canada. Yikes!

Been There

But even if it looks a bit outsize this year, the phenomenon — basically, a change in the normal east-west flow of trade winds across an ocean that covers nearly a third of the earth's surface — has been around perhaps since the time that humans stopped dragging their knuckles across the ground. Since 1950, there have been 13 appearances of The Kid.

What has changed this time around are technology

and the forecasting business, which go together. For the first time, scientists from all sorts of Government agencies and their less-well-trained but better-dressed colleagues at TV weather departments are making rather precise predictions about what this El Niño is supposed to do. And helped by such Niño-related phenomena as warm-water fish like marlins being caught off the normally frigid Northwest coast and wildflowers husting out in the Baja desert, it's a ratings winner.

Here's what they predict for the United States this winter: high winds, pounding surf and sheets of rain for much of California — hence the run on sandbags, tarps

El Niño is coming! It'll drown California! It'll ruin the Olympics! It'll kill seals! It's already making everybody weird!

and new roofs. The Northwest will be warmer and drier — bad for salmon, good for people whose melancholia is weather-influenced. Parts of the Rockies will be snow-starved, ditto the Great Plains, and not as cold. The South is a tossup, except Florida and the Gulf Coast, which are supposed to be wetter than usual. The Atlantic Coast and the Northeast will be warmer, with less snow.

All of this is speculation, of course. But it is bolder and more pronounced than ever before, lending itself to headlines and news accounts that sound like 1950's sci-fi films. "Word's out that El Niño is coming," The San Francisco Examiner announced in a fairly typical article last week. "Not just any El Niño, but the biggest, baddest El Niño to mosey up the coast in 150 years." An article in The San Francisco Chronicle carried this large-type

comment: "The cry has gone out: El Niño is coming, El Niño is coming."

It is not just journalists and weather forecasters generating the storm of superlatives. Also joining the choir are politicians, psychiatrists and scientists whose usual idea of a daring exchange is to share cartoon lines from the "The Far Side."

Rain in Southern California

At an El Niño "summit" this month in Santa Monica, Calif., the Federal Government's top oceanographer issued some dire warnings. Ants Leetmaa, director of the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, predicted that rainfall in Southern California would be 200 percent above normal, which would make it one of the wettest winters on record. Already, he said, temperatures in the ocean were "unprecedented in amplitude."

This prompted Vice President Al Gore, who attended the summit, to declare, "We must act before the rains begin," and then to speculate that perhaps global warming was to blame. El Niño has been a boost for both sides in the debate over what to do about emissions of earth-warming gases. One side sees the higher-than-usual warming of the ocean as evidence of human meddling in the fragile earth, the other sees Nature asserting itself at the top of the earthy order with a vengeance.

Mr. Leetmaa based his forecast on the mind-boggling array of observation material trained on El Niño, from sensor buoys bobbing all over the Pacific to satellite cameras sending back a flow of images that look pretty cool on the World Wide Web.

But for all that, he added, his forecast could be wrong. Even if the predictions are accurate, El Niño may not be all that bad. For one thing, winds from the heavily-veged ocean have cleaned Southern California's air, bringing one of the best years to breathe in Los Angeles in 50 years.

The Northwest surely will mourn the continued loss of its Pacific salmon, but El Niño is also supposed to be hard on sea lions, the scourge of Seattle. Seattle has been trying for nearly 10 years just to get rid of a half-dozen or so sea lions who do nothing but lounge around with their

mouths open at the entrance to a once-bountiful salmon entry point.

Western lands starved by drought, particularly in New Mexico and Arizona, may get full reservoirs and fresh life in parched washes. Some forecasters say Florida will get fewer hurricanes in 1998, the year of El Niño Grande. Also, few people are expected to complain about lower heating bills in New England.

Overall, the United States is expected to fare better than the rest of the world. Already, droughts in Australia, Brazil and South Africa, and fires in Indonesia are blamed on El Niño.

For that matter, El Niño can be and probably will be blamed, or credited, for almost anything, from the fate of Mr. Gore's political future to the overbearing funk of a fifth-grader. People who are making money, or careers, off El Niño are benefiting from expectations, not from real changes. Analysts have been running up the stocks of certain home repair chains, anticipating record years for hardware warehouses. The insurance industry is doing booming business in parts of the West. Commodities traders, banking on forecasts of dry days for the farm belt, are taking El Niño talk to the bank. Some farmers have sold their cattle and altered their planting schedules.

If all the Sturm und Drang does come about, it will be useful to remember that it has happened before, and long before El Niño was given its name — a reference to the Christ child, since it usually appears in the eastern tropical Pacific around Christmas — in 1895. People went about their lives, working and complaining about the weather as usual, wondering why there is no white Christmas some years, without any idea about the temperature changes in the middle of the Pacific.

And there is another comforting thought, courtesy of The Old Farmer's Almanac. For 205 years, the almanac has been forecasting the weather, based on "a secret formula devised by the founder of the almanac in 1792," as the book explains. This year, the outlook for winter is nothing very dramatic: snowfall above normal in New England, rainfall below normal in the southeast, a wet Pacific Northwest and California scheduled to get "near-normal precipitation."

Wasted Energy

Fuel Efficiency Falls, Just as More Is Needed

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN Jr.

WHEN people are rich and fuel is cheap, when the weather is cold and the economy is hot, the United States can hardly resist indulging its appetite for energy.

That was the situation in 1996, when Americans tanked up even more extravagantly than usual. Total energy use grew 3.2 percent, according to the Energy Department, outpacing the nation's economic growth rate of 2.4 percent.

Last year was the first tick upward in five years, a deviation from a long downward trend in energy consumed per dollar of economic production. But while the Energy Department expects improvement in energy efficiency to resume and to prevail for 15 more years or so, the rate of improvement seems to be flattening — just as nations concerned about global climate changes are pressuring the United States to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide, the greenhouse gas produced by burning fossil fuels.

Last week President Clinton proposed a new plan for reducing emissions by offering American businesses incentives to cut them, siding with technological optimists who say Yankee ingenuity can meet the challenge — perhaps with a subsidy.

But others say that to keep the growing American economy from pumping out more carbon dioxide, different incentives are needed. Economic behaviorists say a painful one may be required: higher energy prices. Economic regulators want tighter standards for manufacturers to produce more efficient cars and appliances.

The optimists say there are few technical

barriers to further gains in efficiency. "The trends are historical, and they don't reflect what the real possibilities are," said Stephen J. DeCanio, an economics professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara who was senior staff economist at the Council of Economic Advisers under President Reagan. But, he noted, when he and his wife shopped for new lamps, they couldn't find attractive models that took energy-efficient fluorescent bulbs.

Doing Good by Doing Better

"Today, two-thirds of the energy used to provide electricity is squandered in waste heat," Mr. Clinton said as he proposed to reduce emissions to the 1990 level over the next 10 to 15 years. "We can do much, much better."

Mr. Clinton's plan relies heavily on narrowly targeted incentives and subsidies for efficiency, and environmentalists and other nations' negotiators in talks on a new greenhouse-gas treaty said it did too little too late.

Indeed, the United States, which has 5 percent of the world's population but emits nearly a quarter of its carbon dioxide, is turning in an embarrassing performance as it falls short of earlier goals to cut emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000.

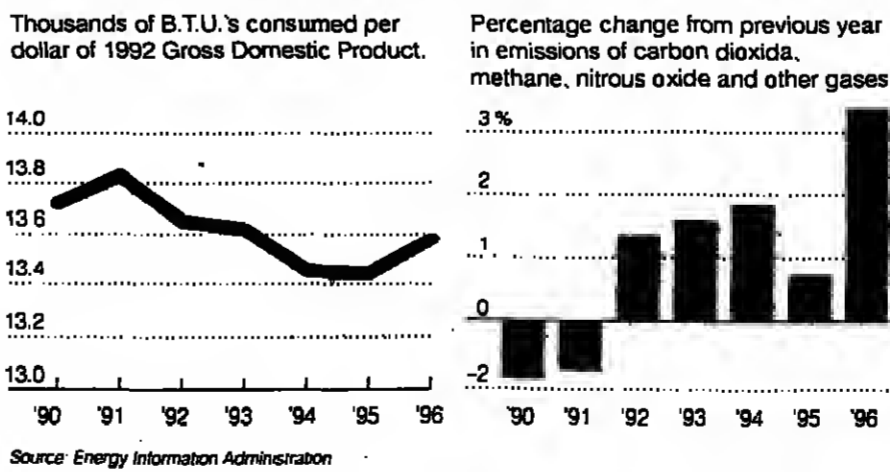
But was 1996's increase a blip on a graph, or a warning of a big problem ahead? Why did the economy suddenly become less efficient in its use of energy?

The most obvious factor was the extremely cold winter weather, a statistical oddity that made people burn more fuel to heat homes and offices.

Another way to burn more fuel these days is by driving big gas-guzzling vans, trucks and sport utility vehicles, some of which get half the fuel mileage of the average sedan.

Greenhouse Gas Gauge

1996 was a boom year for energy use in the United States, as the nation reversed a five-year decline in consumption and pumped out far more greenhouse gases.



Source: Energy Information Administration

The New York Times

The nation's fleet of vehicles is getting less efficient, and transportation is projected to overtake industry as the main consumer of energy, but the changes would not be expected to show up as sudden spikes in one year.

Another trend is the decline in efforts by electric utilities to persuade their customers to use less power. That practice spread for a while because power companies, whose earnings were regulated, were allowed to make money by spending on conservation instead of building new power plants. But with deregulation on the horizon, that strategy makes less sense to them these days.

For most people, saving energy still

makes financial sense, whether or not they are concerned about the problem of global warming over the next century or two. Mr. Clinton gave the example of a sixth-grade class in Iowa that took out a \$14,000 bank loan and installed conservation measures that lopped 70 percent off its school's energy bills. "The savings were so impressive that the bank decided to upgrade its own energy efficiency," he said.

The next day, before a different audience, Mr. Clinton wondered aloud, "Why doesn't everybody do it? Why don't we even have a critical mass of companies doing it?"

Most experts say the answer is the price of

Incentives to conserve energy have declined along with its cost.

fuel. "Gasoline is the cheapest liquid you can get next to water, and it's much cheaper than bottled water," said Llewellyn King, who has been publisher of The Energy Daily since the glory days of the oil cartel in the 70's, when prices rocketed and Americans went on a conservation spree.

Lindsay Audin, who founded a consulting firm, Energywiz Inc., after retiring as Columbia University's energy-efficiency manager last year, said, "Consumers do not have the financial ability to pay the upfront costs, or the financial understanding that investments in efficiency make money. Companies do not understand that energy efficiency is not a cost center, it is a profit center."

Understanding Economics

Only when energy prices go up is that sure to change, he said.

"Price matters," said Dan Becker, climate policy director for the Sierra Club, which has long called for stricter fuel-efficiency standards for vehicles.

"But Americans don't do great with amortization of costs. So it has got to be something that we know works. And the only thing we can think of that we know works is requiring that energy-saving technology be put on the things we drive, the things we use to heat our homes, the things we use to cool our food. We know that works."

مكتبة النور

The World

Reversing Roles in a South African Dilemma

By SUZANNE DALEY

THE arguments have been fierce and familiar: Affirmative action is only the smallest step toward redressing terrible injustice. Affirmative action is irredeemably divisive. Without the force of quotas, racism won't be dislodged. Quotas are anathema. And so on, in a debate that is not even close to resolution.

But in South Africa, the debate is new. And while the words sound like the struggle over racial preferences in the United States, the stakes in this nation, 83 percent non-white and hardly practiced in antidiscrimination law, make the American experiment look puny. At risk, many here believe, is South Africa's very survival as a multiracial society.

If the pace of change here is too slow, it might lead to anger and frustration among nonwhites, tipping the country into the kind of violence that has devastated so many African nations coming out from under white dominance. Yet too much affirmative action and white South Africans, seeing no future for them here, might leave in a brain drain that most black leaders admit would threaten South Africa's future.

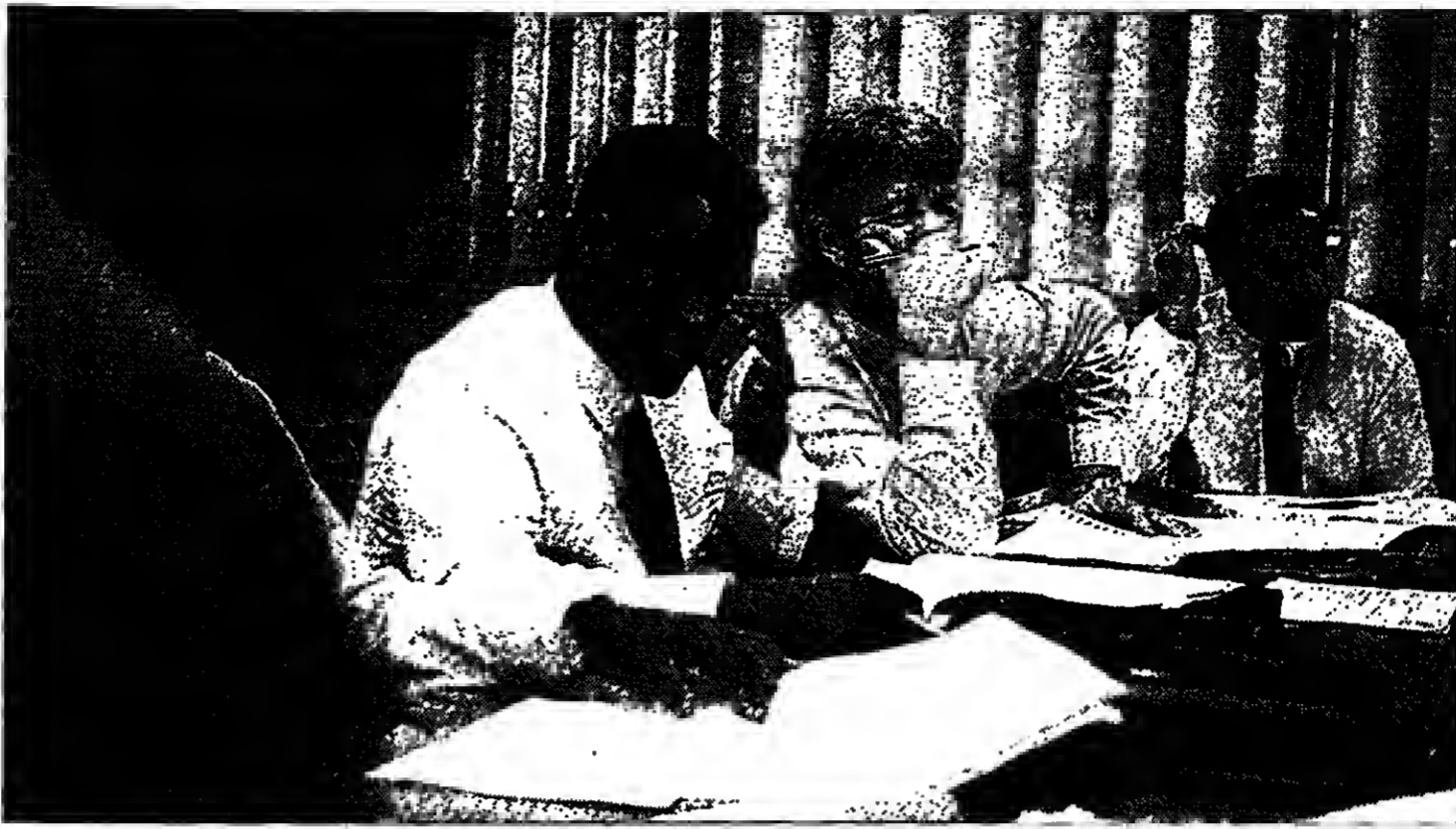
What people on all sides of the debate do agree on is that private industry's early efforts at leveling the playing field after 40 years of apartheid have been a disaster.

The tension in corporate corridors is palpable. Eager to hire any black-South African who had an education and job experience, corporate South Africa — an almost all-white boys' club — went on a buying spree after President Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990.

Soaring Careers

Trying to anticipate the change that a new, black-majority Government would bring, companies hired and poached from each other in a frenzy that had a limited pool of black managers and professionals job-hopping at a staggering rate. With each move, there were new cars, new houses, promotions and inflated salaries. There was, however, little or no training.

Not surprisingly, the backlash has been swift. Whites complain that blacks who are underqualified make much more money than they do. Recent surveys have shown a growing number of chief executives officers declaring that affirmative action isn't working. And progress at bringing more blacks



South Africa's Government has provided new jobs for blacks. Senior post office managers meeting in Johannesburg last week.

into the managerial levels of the work force has pretty much come to a standstill.

"The oews is that there is no oews," said Angus Bowmaker-Falconer, who compiles a yearly survey on employment equity in association with the University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business. This year, he said, "Things look pretty much as they did two years ago."

The subject of affirmative action is likely to split almost any gathering along racial lines, often infuriating blacks who cannot believe that with so much injustice to make up for, whites aren't embracing programs meant to redress inequality.

In South Africa, it is not an issue of the majority agreeing to help out a minority group. Here, it is the vast majority of this country's citizens who were systematically denied education and jobs. And it is this majority that now controls the Government.

Indeed, the Government is on the verge of unveiling affirmative action legislation. But it has taken a long time to study the issue and

has chosen a path that most consider a careful balancing act — a carrot-and-stick approach that does not include quotas.

There are some who question whether affirmative action even needs to be a race-based policy. Rachel Jafta, who lectures on economics at the University of Stellenbosch, suggests that any policy that reaches out to poor rural areas or bolsters training and education is already furthering affirmative action goals, without bringing in any racially divisive component.

Side Effects

"We have to weigh the costs and benefits," Ms. Jafta said. "There are so many side effects with race-based programs. We could be jeopardizing a united South Africa."

Others argue that South Africa may not be able to afford the costs of affirmative action.

Tony Leon, the head of South Africa's liberal, largely white Democratic Party, which has always opposed apartheid, says

that the costs are potentially enormous. Packages already given to whites to induce them to leave Government jobs, he said, had cost the country more than \$200 million.

Mr. Leon is also concerned about nepotism creeping in under the flag of affirmative action in the redistribution of government jobs. In some areas, he said, what has happened is not affirmative action but a full family employment act. "What you have is literally the wives, the cousins and the sisters getting jobs," Mr. Leon said.

Certainly the Government, while not following any set affirmative action policy, has been a tremendous source of new jobs for blacks. In some areas, it appears to have gone beyond what the law allows. For instance, earlier this year, a lower court decided that a Justice Department policy to reserve about 30 senior jobs for nonwhites was illegal.

Under the Government's new legislation, each business, even relatively small ones, will be expected to file an affirmative action

The affirmative action debate sounds a lot like America's, but the reality isn't.

plan outlining targets. Each will be reviewed for reasonableness. For instance, since there are few black certified accountants in South Africa, a company might be excused for suggesting small numbers in this area.

"We don't expect corporations to grab someone from the bush and put him in the boardroom," said Loyiso M. Mbabane, the Director of Equal Opportunity from the Department of Labor.

Rewards and Fines

Companies that do well are expected to have an advantage in getting Government contracts. Those that don't make progress could be fined.

Still, some affirmative action advocates say the Government is being too soft in not requiring quotas. They point out that interest in the issue seems to depend on the Government's own action in the area, and that business simply reads the Government's signals. Before the election, for instance, there was lots of interest because it was widely believed that the new Government would swiftly impose an affirmative action law. In one survey of 65 chief executive officers, more than half said it was the top "strategic issue facing the new South Africa."

After the election, when the Government did not move immediately to institute new laws, affirmative action quickly slipped to seventh on the list. The most recent surveys show it back up to No. 2.

Certainly apartheid left a footprint that will be hard to sweep away. Most of South Africa's wealth is concentrated in the hands of whites, who make up about 12 percent of the population. At the same time, 70 percent of all black people live below the poverty line. About 50 percent are illiterate. Even after all the hiring of the last few years, blacks make up only 4 percent of the managerial ranks in private companies.

"If you say leave it to the goodwill of the people," said Bonang Mohale, a board member of the Black Management Forum, a nonprofit advocacy group, "it will not get done."

Crashing in Asia

Paper Tigers, Paper Miracles

By DAVID E. SANGER

China's Cultural Profile

Continued From Page 1

extremely tentative, apparently feeling the need to consult widely with colleagues before taking positions on issues large and small.

With the Chinese leadership still highly secretive about its workings, Mr. Jiang's visit this week will probably offer American officials and citizens their first good look at him. Up to now, Mr. Jiang has been known primarily for his extreme caution in public, where he often reads from a prepared text even when he is regurgitating the party line. From Mr. Jiang's example one may conclude that the Chinese system rewards leaders for back-room consensus-building and scheming more than any ability to wow a crowd.

On the one hand, he comes off as smug and imperturbable, as though he cares only about matters Chinese and is quite prepared to ignore international concerns about human rights, the environment or trade disputes.

On the other, however, are hints of insecurity. Mr. Jiang's demand for the ceremony that awaits him at the White House — Chinese officials insisted on a 21-gun salute, the red carpet and a state dinner — attests to his need for formal recognition. He was badly miffed two years ago when, during a visit to the United Nations, the Clinton Administration tried to arrange an informal meeting at the White House. Mr. Jiang now is finally getting what he wants.

Today, China can look to Westerners like a fast-growing behemoth with a locomotive economy and a militaristic regime determined to get its way by any means necessary, even through campaign contributions abroad.

Such an exaggerated view overlooks many essential features of Chinese life, including overwhelming poverty, a disorganized economy and a fragile political system. It also obscures deeper cultural and social fissures that keep China mired in self-obsession and a sense of victimization at the hands of foreigners.

"They're caught at kind of the intersection of being a victim on the one hand and a major country on the other," said Kenneth G. Lieberthal, a China scholar at the University of Michigan. "Victims preach morality, always play a weak hand, always ask for you to accommodate to them to make up for past wrongs. Major countries have broad responsibilities, shared responsibilities for how the region and the world fare. The Chinese can't quite figure out where they are on this."

WHEN the history of the Asian crash of 1997 is written years from now, people will probably have long since forgotten the accusation by Malaysia's paranoid-sounding premier, Mahathir Mohamad, that the source of the problem was a Jewish conspiracy to level Asia's booming economies. By then it should be clear whether Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, the New York Republican and chairman of the Banking Committee, was accurate or blowing smoke when he declared that the dramatic fall of the Hong Kong market Thursday was a "lesson for all freedom-loving people around the world" of the dangers "now that the Communist Chinese have taken over" Asia's most vibrant center of capitalism.

By then, historians may have concluded that John Kenneth Galbraith's diagnosis was closer to the truth, even though he was talking about the causes of another market crash, a bigger one, in 1929. Then, too, there was a search for conspiracies and plotters. But in the end, Mr. Galbraith concluded, the real cause was a delusional hubris about America's economic power, fueled "by the seminal lunacy which has always seized people who are seized in turn with the notion that they can become very rich."

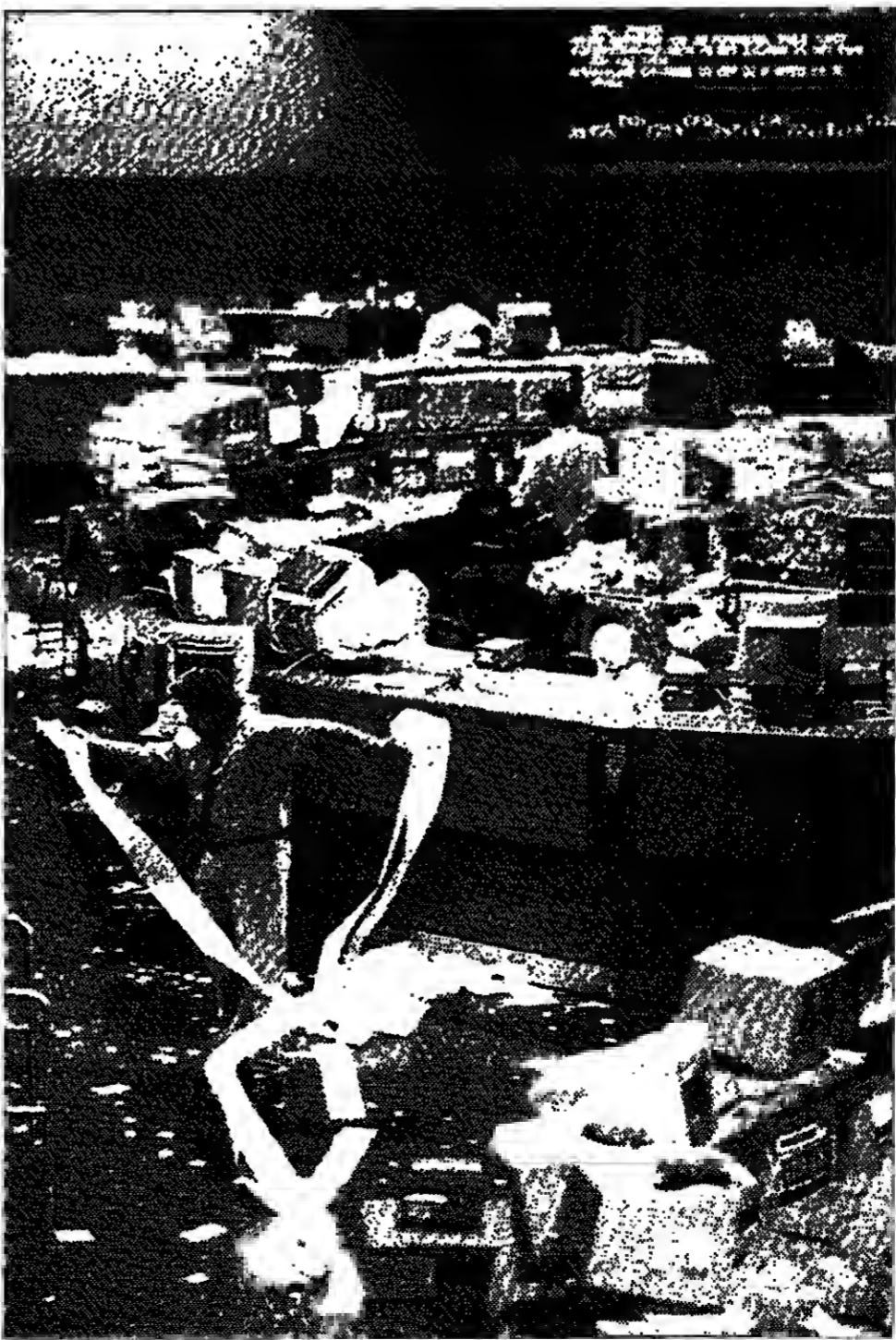
There has been a lot of that hubris in Southeast Asia for the better part of a decade now — and it has led a lot of very smart people, investing cash drawn from around the globe, to do a lot of stupid things. With every book entitled "Asia Rising," with every oews article projecting stupendous economic growth, with every talk show about the decline of the West, the markets climbed higher.

Virtually everyone playing in the markets knew that the banks in Thailand were lending money for office towers no one was actually occupying. They knew that Malaysia was building a Silicon Valley long before it had trained engineers to fill it. They knew that investors in Hong Kong were lining up to buy shares in "Red Chips," mainland Chinese firms whose only real asset was that the company's president was the cousin of someone in the Chinese leadership.

Follow the Broker

But when the market keeps rising, when your broker keeps repeating that the next century belongs to the Asian Tigers, it is easy to justify pouring in more and more cash.

That is why the first victim claimed by the currency speculators — Thailand — never had a chance. The Thais had become the weakest link in the chain, forever finding excuses not to implement the austerity measures that were desperately needed, like closing more than 50 banks linked to prominent politicians.



At the Pacific Exchange in Los Angeles, Hong Kong's plunge had depressing effects.

"These guys are in a state of shock," Lee Kuan Yew, the founder of modern Singapore, said recently. "They can't believe it happened to them. They thought only sleepy Latin Americans had currency crises."

Then other nations throughout the region began explaining why they were different from Thailand — more disciplined, less corrupt, better regulated. It was a little like

listening to a New Yorker explain to himself why the mugging that just went down three blocks away could not happen in front of his own building.

In this case, the muggers were emboldened. Speculators make their fortunes sniffing out hidden inconsistencies between the value of a currency (or a sky-high stock market) and the underlying fundamental

strengths of the country. Then they plunge into that chasm, betting billions against the local currency or stocks and forcing the government to choose between preserving their exchange rate (usually by jacking up interest rates) and saving the economy.

Once Thailand surrendered, calling in the International Monetary Fund for a bailout, Malaysia and Indonesia were next. The Malaysians fought back, though Mr. Mahathir was forced to kill off his expensive pet projects; the Indonesians surrendered.

Model Economy

What happened in Hong Kong last week, though, was something completely different. Malaysia and Thailand are still fundamentally poor nations; Hong Kong, while tiny, has a per capita GNP that rivals the United States. Its markets are the highest south of Tokyo. It has long been the West's idea of a model economy for the rest of Asia — no trade barriers, little corruption, well-funded banks, a Government with plenty of financial reserves to battle the speculators.

So why did the speculators attack? Because once everyone else in Southeast Asia devalued their currencies, making their goods cheaper, Hong Kong suddenly looked like a phenomenally high-cost place to do business. (Just count the empty hotel rooms.)

While the Government spent \$3 billion to \$5 billion battling the speculators, the prospect of a long siege wiped out a lot of that remaining hubris. "I lost the equivalent of five Mercedes," one investor whimpered. The red chips got hit the hardest; some lost half their value over the past month.

And halfway around the world, the ripples hit quickly. By late Thursday, Mexico and Brazil were falling, too — in a selloff that only got worse on Friday — for fear that they are the next natural targets.

But as Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin, who knows from his long years on Wall Street what it feels like to be on the wrong side of a bear market, said, "markets go up and markets go down," and sooner or later Asia will rise again.

The big question is what happens to the man who can't wait: President Jiang Zemin of China.

Mr. Jiang, who arrives in the United States today to begin a weeklong state visit, has staked his political future on his ability to bring the Chinese economy into the 21st century. That means shuttering hundreds of thousands of state-owned enterprises that lose billions of dollars a year and turning the survivors into world-class competitors.

The problem is that to do so requires billions of dollars in capital. Much of it was going to come from China's new pearl, Hong Kong.

"Hey, they wanted to take back the center of Asian capitalism," the American head of a large brokerage in Hong Kong said Friday morning. "Well, here it is. All his."

Ideas & Trends

Brave New Power Grid

By RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

WOULD offering a bird-feeder coax people into dumping the electric company they've known all their lives for one they've never heard of? How about a spruce sapling? Or a claim that the new company's power is "greener"?

Several power companies think so, resorting to such marketing ploys in a pilot program in New Hampshire that has allowed 15,000 families and businesses to choose their supplier since May 1996. And judging by the success new competitors have had in luring customers away from established utilities, the gimmicks, advertised in mailings and on radio, may be working.

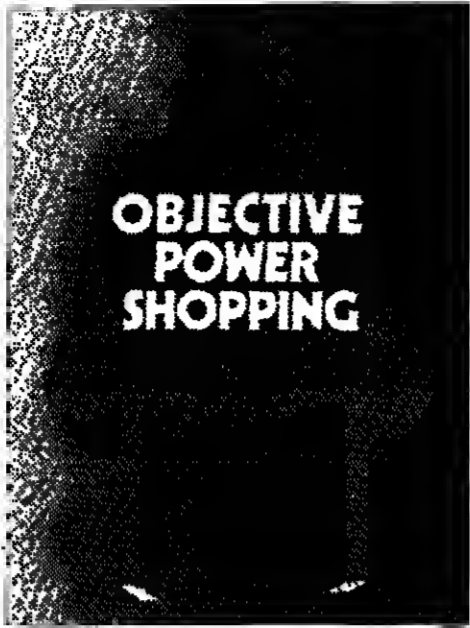
New Hampshire's experience may be a taste of the future for much of the country, as states dismantle the nearly century-old system of electric monopolies. Several states, including New York, California, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, will phase in utility deregulation during the next several years, and several others, including Massachusetts, New Jersey and Connecticut, are expected to follow soon after.

For the first time, regional utilities will be able to cross each other's borders and vie for each other's customers. Power wholesalers are expected to begin entering retail markets, taking on the utilities that have been their customers. And new retail companies will probably form around the country, promising to link consumers to the cheapest, cleanest or most reliable power available.

Caution: Confusion Ahead

Policymakers hope this new competition will translate into lower prices, much as it did in the long-distance telephone market. But the long-distance experience offers some cautionary tales. Breaking AT&T's grip on the market has led to lower rates, but at times has also led to less reliable service and a barrage of competing claims about price and service that are all but impossible for most consumers to gauge.

"I don't think most people have a clue whether they're really getting the best deal on long distance, and I'm afraid that's where we might be headed with electric competition," said Susan K. Weinstock, chief utilities analyst with the American Association of Retired Persons. "In New Hampshire, companies were touting green power that turned



Electric companies are using ads to compete for consumers in New Hampshire.

out to be no greener than the next guy's power."

Another lesson from the long-distance wars is this: most people have stayed with AT&T, perhaps because in the end the three major competitors' prices don't vary much. Similarly, many analysts believe that in the face of bewildering offers by rival utilities, consumers will opt for the devil they know rather than choose, say, Enron or Sibe, giant energy companies that want to become retailers but are relatively unknown to the general public.

"I think it's very difficult to predict what will happen," said John F. O'Mara, chairman of New York's Public Service Commission, which plans to phase in competition over the next four to five years. But, he added, "a lot of people will want to stay where they're comfortable."

In the New Hampshire experiment, however, 70 percent of customers switched in the first six months. That may be because the old utilities were small and did not carry the brand-name power of a Consolidated Edison. Or it may be because new entrants seriously undercut the old monopoly prices (competition eventually forced rates down about 20 percent). Or it may be that a lot of energy companies were eager to use New Hamp-

shire as a test case and pushed harder there than they will elsewhere. Or it may be none of the above.

"One thing we've learned here is that you can sit around and talk about these things endlessly but until you try competition, you really have no idea what it's going to look like," said Robert J. Frank, a lawyer with the New Hampshire Public Utilities Commission. "The only thing you can be sure of is confusion."

Environmentalists are encouraged that many of the companies' pitches in New Hampshire focused on claims, some of them well-founded, that the power they were offering was generated with less pollution than their competitors'.

"The choice of a power supplier could turn out to be the single most important environmental decision an individual consumer can make," said Ralph C. Cavanagh, energy program director for the Natural Resources Defense Council. Power plants, the group says, produce two-thirds of the nation's sulfur dioxide emissions, one-third of the carbon dioxide and one-third of the nitrogen oxide, making them leading contributors to acid rain, smog and the greenhouse effect.

Mr. Cavanagh predicted that many consumers would jump at the chance to choose cleaner power sources, even if it meant paying a bit more, and that power companies would be quick to take advantage of that fact.

New Wrinkles

Another new wrinkle could have electric companies, like long-distance providers, offering lower rates at off-peak hours, when it is cheaper for them to supply power. Few homes and businesses have meters that can track usage by the hour, but the promise of lower rates could make it worthwhile to install such meters.

While some consumer advocates fear the confusion that competition will bring, others fear there will not be enough competition.

In the long-distance business, nearly all the cost to the provider is in equipment that is already in place. Actually supplying the service — connecting the calls — costs almost nothing. As a result, it's possible to make a fairly healthy profit on each new customer, making it worthwhile to pursue that customer aggressively.

Supplying electricity is expensive by comparison. Each additional customer means, in most cases, burning more fuel. And most analysts believe competition will mean slim



Workers repairing lines in California, a state set to deregulate electric monopolies.

profit margins, leaving little money for chasing customers. "In the electric market, the individual residential customer is not going to be that attractive to the power companies," Ms. Weinstock said. "They may decide it's only worth it to go after the big commercial customers."

New Players

That's when another new player, a company called an aggregator, could enter the market. An aggregator would sign up consumers, promising to find them the best rates for a small fee. Then it would bundle

them in groups of hundreds or thousands, and offer their business to power companies.

But so far that is no more than a prediction. In New Hampshire, aggregators failed to find a niche because so many companies wanted to compete directly for small customers.

For now, all eyes are on California. On Nov. 1, 70 percent of the state's residents and businesses will be free to choose their electric supplier for service starting Jan. 1.

"No one is quite sure what is going to happen here," said Mr. Cavanagh, who is based in San Francisco. "But it's going to be interesting."



An I.R.S. worker sorting returns in 1985. The agency's service centers still use an antiquated system.

Tax Code's Whipping Boy

Continued From Page 1

in 1986, when Congress closed a host of loopholes and lowered top tax rates but never seriously considered adopting a new approach to taxation.

Today Capitol Hill is awash in competing proposals to "scrap the code," as the latest Republican rallying cry puts it. The House majority leader, Representative Dick Armey of Texas, is pushing for the adoption of a single-rate flat tax that would require a tax return no bigger than a postcard, an approach that Steve Forbes championed in his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1996.

A National Sales Tax

Mr. Armey has been staging debates around the country with Representative Billy Tauzin of Louisiana, who is pressing for a national sales tax to replace the income tax. That approach, which is also favored by Mr. Archer, is one that would allow for total abolition of the I.R.S.

Not to be outdone, Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the Democratic leader and probably the leading challenger to Vice President Al Gore for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 2000, has a plan that he says would put 75 percent of taxpayers in a 10 percent tax bracket.

But each proposal to dump or to radically alter the progressive income tax system has economic or political credibility problems. A flat tax system, with no deductions, would require the abolition of cherished tax breaks like the mortgage-interest deduction and would

tend to shift the tax burden from the wealthy to the middle class.

A national retail sales tax would create huge incentives for cheating, while falling most heavily on people at the lower end of the income scale. And even if the problems of these plans could be overcome, as advocates of each insist is possible, the logistical difficulties of moving from one tax system to another in an economy of the size and complexity of the United States' could prove insurmountable.

Moreover, Republicans are also sorely tempted by the political appeal of just continuing to push through tax cuts under the current system. That temptation is growing along with the likelihood that in the next few years the Federal budget deficit could be wiped out by the strong economy, further freeing Congress from the constraints of fiscal austerity.

So while the debate about fundamentally changing the tax system seems likely to rage on at least through the next Presidential election, for now the country is stuck with the Internal Revenue Service and the system, based largely on voluntary compliance, that it administers.

For all the very real horrors that have been inflicted on taxpayers who find themselves in disputes with the I.R.S., the vast majority of Americans will never have any more than routine dealings with the tax collector, however much they hate having to turn over their money to the Government.

And tax officials proudly point out that the level at which individuals voluntarily pay their full tax bill — about 83 percent, a rate that has remained steady for two decades — appears to be the highest in the world.

Humoral Sap

Ancient Cures for Open Minds

By RICHARD A. SHWEDER

ONE of the surest ways to bring a luncheon conversation to a halt at the National Institute of Mental Health in Bethesda, Md., is to suggest that phlegm, bile and wind are neurotransmitters. So why then did the institute recently send biomedical scientists to India to confer with Ayurvedic physicians, who still believe that ill-sorted humors of the body cause unbalanced minds?

Despite some recent concerns over Government funding of research on alternative therapies and scoffing by skeptics, an estimated one-third of Americans are using these treatments, despite their doctors' disapproval.

Humoral medicine is a case in point. Although it was discredited in the 17th century in the West, it has made a comeback in spas, health food stores and healing centers across the country, in botanical extracts, aroma therapies, purges and holistic diets.

There is even a curiosity among some N.I.M.H. scientists, who are concerned about the high cost of drug development and who acknowledge the prevalence of psychosomatic illness. They are reevaluating alternative medicine as a body of knowledge rather than dismissing it as quackery.

Culinary Process

Humoral medicine had a long run in the West, starting in ancient Greece. In 159 A.D. sick gladiators sought out Galen, who drew on medical theories from the time of Hippocrates.

Here is a decoction of the doctrine: There are four basic humors of the body (phlegm, black bile, yellow bile, blood), four basic qualities of sensory experience (hot, cold, wet, dry) and four basic ingredients of things going in and out of the body (fire, air, water, earth). Health means harmony, and fine-tuning is possible. If the body is dry, make it wet. If it is hot, cool it off. You are what you eat, and also what you excrete.

The essence of humoral thinking, according to the historian R. M. Yost, Jr., is the idea that the human body contains juices and fluids whose ratios regulate health. When there is an

excess of some humoral sap, the body heats up, reduces substance, separates the boiled from the unboiled parts and evacuates the stewed remains. The aim of the humoral physician is to assist this natural culinary process with warmers and coolers and to facilitate the evacuation process with purges, emetics and bleedings.

Although Hippocrates is often described as the father of medicine, Agniveśa, Sūśruta and several other ancient South Asian physicians could easily win a paternity suit. Their brain child, Ayurvedic medicine (the science of life), is an even older version of humoral thinking.

The oldest surviving Ayurvedic text, the Caraka-Samhita, probably dates from the sixth or seventh century B.C. Buddha's doctor was an Ayurvedic physician. So was the doctor of

Now, doctors aren't laughing at bodily-fluid jokes.

Morarji Desai, the Indian Prime Minister in 1979.

Official support for humoral medicine in South Asia has waxed and waned over the centuries, just as it has in the West. News of its demise at the hands of English scientists spurred its regeneration in India. Indian nationalists in the early 20th century proudly rejuvenated the science of life as proof of their intellectual autonomy. Since Indian independence in 1947, the medical wisdom of the ancients has been turned into a growth industry with Government subsidies.

There are Ayurvedic medical schools, journals, pharmacies and drug companies. Lotions, potions, massages and purges are used by hundreds of millions of Hindus, for everything from wrinkles, backaches, asthma and hair loss to impotency, senility, diabetes and schizophrenia. The old remedies, preferably prescribed in Sanskrit, are thought to be closer to the truth, and are popular in contemporary Indian society, even among the Westernized elite.

In recent decades the elites in the West have been catching on, once again. One measure of this is a recent scientific mission organized by Dr. Stephen H. Koslow, director of Neuroscience and Behavioral Science at the National Institute of Mental Health. Dr. Koslow led an expedition of Western psychiatrists and pharmacolo-

gists to India to examine Ayurvedic medicine as a potential source of knowledge.

The N.I.M.H. delegation took a trip to Kerala to visit the Arya Vaidya Sala (the Pure Ayurvedic Doctor's Clinic), which uses Ayurvedic methods. There, hysteria and chronic headaches are treated by streaming medicated milk onto the patient's forehead. Asthma, inflammations of the vertebrae and other afflictions associated with dryness, desiccation and an excess of wind are counteracted with a gentle wet massage.

In the gardens of the clinic the medicinal roots and shoots of the jungle are cultivated by a botanist, who expounds the doctrine of signatures, which he attributes to Galen. "God created plants," he says, "as a provision for the health of human beings, and left a sign on them — some feature of their shape, color, habitat or behavior — for human beings to decipher." He points to a plant shaped like an ear that is a cure for ear aches.

In the factory of the Kerala clinic an Indian nuclear physicist oversees a major industrial apparatus where they distill, standardize and mass produce 2,500-year-old legendary decoctions. An M.B.A. from the Wharton School of Business takes care of the accounts. As the West lies down with the East, there are not enough beds in the clinic's nursing home to accommodate the international demand for its medical regimes.

Why Now?

Why is it now that humoral medicine, with its antique remedies from out of our past, has returned in the United States? It is the bet of some neuro-pharmacologists at N.I.M.H. that Ayurvedic practitioners know something about barks, roots, leaves and other botanical provisions for human beings that they can no longer afford to overlook.

It is also a response to recent research on the power of mind-body effects. It is the bet of some psychiatrists at the institute that Ayurvedic healers know a lot about the salubrious reality of placebo cures.

And what do they say in India when the institute comes knocking on their doors? They say it is good to experiment with things to touch, smell and eat that are tailored to your own personality, that are less biologically shocking and invasive than a wonder drug. Any medical tradition that is 2,500 years old, they say, and has a half a billion enthusiastic clients must be doing something right.

مكتبة القدس

ECONOMY

Entering the Brave New World of General Motors

By ROBYN MEREDITH

SPIN the steering wheel of a Chevrolet Lumina and the car is slow to turn. Press hard on the gas, and there's a long pause before it accelerates. And, somehow, the Lumina manages to look large on the outside and feel small on the inside.

None of this stops executives at the General Motors Corporation from feeling completely satisfied. The Lumina is making money, good money, thank you, in the treacherously competitive midsize car market. Because of its relatively low price and carefully focused marketing, the car is a favorite among price-conscious families and retirees.

"People love it," said John F. Smith Jr., G.M.'s chairman and chief executive. "It's a beautiful car, it's highly regarded, it's got great customer satisfaction, it's got excellent quality."

What it doesn't have is a lot of fans in motordom. "It's kind of a rent-a-car," sniffed David E. Davis Jr., editor of Automobile magazine. "A car dealer once told me that the problem with General Motors is that nowhere in the United States is there a 14-year-old boy with tears in his eyes saying, 'Please, Dad, buy a Lumina.'"

That's O.K. with Mr. Smith. Let Chrysler dazzle buyers with racy new styling. Let Ford push out some of the hottest new trucks. Profits are Mr. Smith's mantra, not pizzazz. Because in the last analysis, his plan for completing the resuscitation of the world's biggest company is to make money steadily at home while leading G.M. into the biggest overseas expansion in its history.

Since taking over in 1992, when the company lost money on nearly every sale of a car or truck, Mr. Smith has brought G.M. back from the brink. He has pared its work force and closed or sold 29 unneeded factories while shaking up a complacent culture and highly bureaucratic structure. In just five years, he has engineered one of the biggest financial turnarounds in American corporate history. Waves of red ink have been replaced by near-record profits. The company's share of the United States market has stopped shrinking and begun growing. And Wall Street has bid the stock up, about 31 percent since July alone, past levels not seen in three decades. It hit an all-time high on Wednesday of \$74.4375; it closed on Friday at \$68.0625.

Mr. Smith plans to take a quintessentially American enterprise and turn it into a company that by 2006 plans to sell more than half its cars and trucks outside the United States, up from just 43 percent last year. And while that strategy may seem

unduly risky in a world of undulating currencies, madcap financial markets and unsettled emergent economies, the impetus is clear: G.M.'s traditional bases — the United States and Europe — are slow-growth markets where profits go to companies that cut costs best. So G.M. figures it has no choice but to aim at foreign markets with a potential for double-digit growth.

In G.M.'s upper echelons, the talk is not so much about the future at home as about the future in Brazil, Poland and China. Just last week, the company expanded its plans to build Buicks in Shanghai. It has just produced a "global Cadillac," to be sold in more than 40 countries, and its Opel division in Europe is busy sending designs to new factories on three continents.

But is G.M. up to the job? Just how deep has its turnaround been? Has it cut costs enough, breathed enough life into its suffocating culture and put the right people in place, both at home and abroad? And if the Lumina stands for the proposition that the biggest doesn't have to be the best, will that corporate realpolitik continue to sell at home, let alone around the world?

After all, G.M. isn't the only big car company to realize that the action is now in points east and south. Industry analysts complain that there are already too many factories around the world pumping out ever more cars and trucks. And what happens to G.M. when the American economy hits a wall, as it eventually must, and a recession sweeps buyers from the nation's auto showrooms?

There are some who say Mr. Smith's success has come only as a result of the strong economic expansion at home. "He has lucked into the best market in history and done not very well," said Gerald C. Meyers, the former chairman of American Motors who is now a professor at Carnegie Mellon's Graduate School of Industrial Administration. "G.M. profits are being driven by a consistently powerful market, not a consistently powerful management," added Mr. Meyers, who says he believes that neither G.M.'s cars nor its market share have improved enough to signal long-term success.

Yet most outside experts are more optimistic, albeit cautiously so.

"Give them to the year 2000 or 2001, and you won't be able to count the profits," said James E. Harbour, a manufacturing efficiency expert at Harbour & Associates in Troy, Mich., who was among the first to predict the current resurgence of Chrysler. Mr. Harbour, once one of G.M.'s fiercest critics, now lauds the company for its gains in productivity and quality.

To be sure, the experts acknowledge that G.M. was such a basket case that even the most minimal improvements were bound to bring huge gains.

"Measured against the old G.M. standard, they're doing very well," said Maryann N. Keller, an auto analyst at Furman Selz L.L.C., a New York investment banking and brokerage firm. "Measured against where they need to be and have to be, they're still not there, and it has been five years."

The company still lags behind its peers in many important efficiency measures. Nor has it reached Mr. Smith's goal of an average 5 percent profit margin, in good times and bad, and a 12.5 percent return on net assets, a financial benchmark G.M. uses to measure how effectively the corporation uses its assets. For the first nine months of the year, G.M.'s net profit margin was 4.3 percent, and the return on net assets was running at about 10 percent.

There is also no question that some big bumps lie ahead. Its global expansion drive is already causing strains — the chairman of the company's Adam Opel unit in Germany, David J. Herman, may soon be forced out. The division has been struggling to compete in Europe while it also shoulders responsibility for the small cars G.M. sells in emerging markets. G.M. has a troubled relationship with the United Automobile Workers union, which has shown little reluctance to shut down the company during disputes.

And rivals like Mercedes-Benz and Toyota have moved into its core area of profits — the sale of sport utility vehicles, mini-vans and pickup trucks.

Still, Mr. Smith can take pride in managing a huge swing to profitability. The year before he took over, G.M. was losing an average of \$969 on each car and truck sold. Now, it is earning an average of \$769 (an estimated \$700 for each Lumina) and is on track to beat last year's total profit of \$4.96 billion. Yet G.M. is still behind Toyota, which earned more than \$1,150 per vehicle in the first nine months of 1997, as well as behind Chrysler, which had average profits of \$1,306 a vehicle in that period.

Although G.M. still hasn't fixed all its problems, David E. Cole, director of the Office for the Study of Automotive Transportation at the University of Michigan, said the company was starting to frighten its competitors for the first time in decades.

"In the next couple of years, unless some disaster happens, you're going to see a really very strong company," Mr. Cole said. "The road map is there, and it is just a matter of getting down the road."

Mr. Smith acknowledges that not all the numbers are where he would like them, but adds that "we're nowhere near finished" with cost-cutting and other improvements.

What is crucial, he and other G.M. executives say, is playing to the company's strong suits: "We need to take advantage of our size, which is our greatest strength," Mr. Smith says.

Now, G.M. is belatedly trying to act like a manufacturing company run by accountants, like an international giant run by global executives and like a consumer products company run by marketers.

In practical terms, that means using common components and processes worldwide. Indeed, the company is simultaneously building nearly identical factories in four countries: Argentina, China, Poland and Thailand.

It also means mining the giant company for talent. Mr. Smith, who is 59, has salted his top ranks with younger executives with deep financial and foreign experience. These include Louis R. Hughes, 48, who heads G.M.'s international operations; G. Richard Wagoner Jr., 44, president of North American operations; John F. Smith, also 46, no relation to the chairman, who heads the Cadillac division, and Mark T. Hogan, 46, general manager of the North American small-car group.

One of the linchpins of G.M.'s turnaround, outsiders say, is value pricing — selling cars, like the Lumina, that are more attractively priced than others in their class. The company can still make money on those cars if it succeeds in harnessing its enormous size to produce cost efficiencies. And the cars will continue to sell well, industry experts say, as long as their value offsets their inability to quicken a driver's pulse. The '98 Lumina sells for \$17,795; its competition includes the Ford Taurus, which starts at \$18,795.

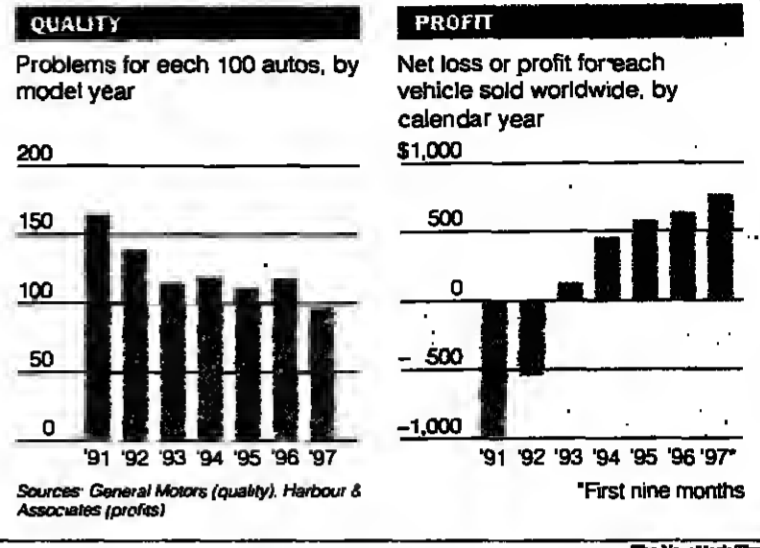
MR. SMITH is hardly the swashbuckling chief executive you might expect it would take to turn around the giant auto maker. Whenever possible, he steers clear of the limelight, and when he must give a speech, it is usually wooden yet sincere, delivered with his boyhood Massachusetts accent.

Mr. Smith started hacking away at the huge waste that for so long plagued the company, making mostly unglamorous changes that customers don't notice. It was a task for which he was well-suited. After starting as a bean counter at a G.M. factory in Framingham, Mass., he worked in G.M.'s powerful treasurer's office in New York before helping to turn around the company's troubled European operations in the 1980's.

He faced layers of inefficiencies. Buying auto parts, raw materials and other supplies account for roughly half the company's costs, but it wasn't long ago that G.M. had 27 independent purchasing centers just for North America. Mr. Smith con-

Better, but Not the Best

General Motors has steadily improved the quality of its cars and trucks, and their profitability, too. But for the 1997 model year, G.M. still lagged behind the industry's quality average of 86 problems for each 100 vehicles, according to J.D. Power & Associates. And while G.M. beat Ford's profit per vehicle of \$660, it remained well behind Honda (\$1,050), Toyota (\$1,150) and Chrysler (\$1,306).



Sources: General Motors (Quality), Harbour & Associates (Profits). "First nine months"

The New York Times

Consolidated global purchasing efforts in one office, enabling G.M. to push for better deals as it bought big quantities of everything from steel to car radios — a legacy of its troubled relationship with its former purchasing chief, José Ignacio López de Arriortua. The efforts saved \$8 billion over five years.

G.M. engineers are also following the lead of Toyota and other efficiency experts and designing cars with fewer parts, so that assembling them requires fewer workers. The 1997 Chevrolet Malibu, for instance, was designed to be built by 22 percent fewer workers than were needed for the car it replaced. A couple of years ago, G.M. installed 240 different steering columns in its cars and trucks; soon, it will use just a dozen companywide, Mr. Harbour said. Customers are unlikely to notice the difference.

General Motors still sells some truly awful cars; the Buick Skylark and Oldsmobile Achieva are so bereft of curb appeal that G.M. will not send the 1998 models to dealerships, only to rental car fleets.

After building a popular new small-car division, Saturn, G.M. watched its sales languish recently because there is no Saturn sport utility vehicle to keep buyers from defecting to Toyota's RAV4 or Honda's CR-V.

Although G.M. has introduced 15 new models in the last 18 months that are light-years ahead of those they replace, auto reviewers and Wall Street analysts concur that few, if any, are truly better than the competition, which is already developing its next onslaught.

"They are still playing catch-up, and they will play catch-up for a long time," Ms. Keller of Furman Selz said.

Still, perhaps the best example of the new, faster-moving General Motors came last year, when the company was weighing plans to spend several hundred million dollars for a new headquarters.

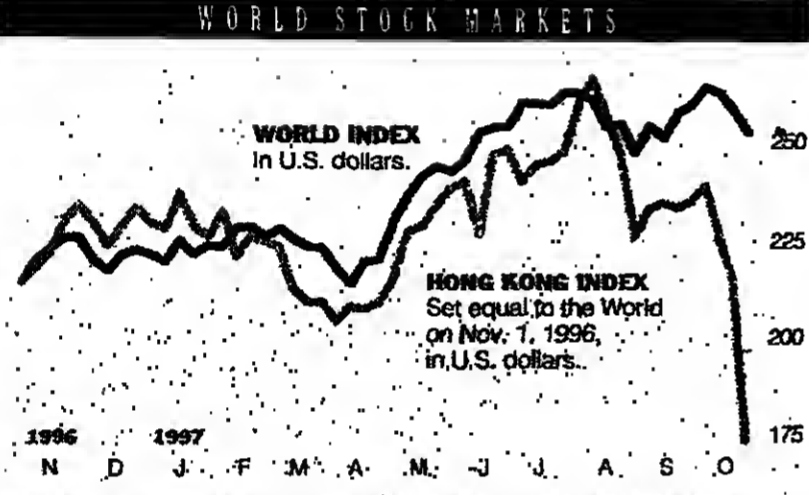
In early March 1996, Matthew P. Cullen, a G.M. real estate planner, learned that Detroit's landmark Renaissance Center, a complex of five shiny glass cylinders, was for sale.

G.M. changed course, and in just a month's time, the \$75 million deal was done. In the old G.M., "I would have gone to somebody who went to somebody and then it would've been reviewed by 15 committees," Mr. Cullen said.

And the company has elevated the role of its long-neglected marketing efforts. In late 1994, G.M., which seldom scouts for executive talent from outside its ranks, brought in Ronald L. Zarella, who had been president of Bausch & Lomb, to revamp the company's rudderless marketing.

Mr. Zarella has sought to counteract a perennial problem at G.M.: internal competition that allowed, for instance, some of its Chevrolets to compete so fiercely against Pontiacs, not Fords and Toyotas. Mr. Zarella has aimed each of G.M.'s car and truck models at specific silvers of the market. The company markets Lumina's, for instance, to buyers looking not for precision handling but for a set of relatively cheap, reliable wheels.

Even with new management, G.M. has made plenty of mistakes, including the following: While Chrysler has just completed its first car designed entirely on computer, saving eight months and about \$80 million in the process, G.M.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS IN LOCAL CURR.

Table with columns: Country, Index, Week % Chg., Week Rank, YTD % Chg., YTD Rank, Dividend Yield, Index, YTD % Chg.

COMPOSITE INDICES

Table with columns: Region, Index, Week % Chg., YTD % Chg., Index, YTD % Chg.

CURRENCIES

Table with columns: Exchange rate, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg., Year Ago

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close

Oct. 20-24: After the Dow Drops 4% in 2 Days, All Eyes Turn to Monday

Table with columns: Category, Change

Table with columns: Category, Change

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Change in basis points.

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NATO Expansion Shows West's Global Ambition

To the Editor: According to Warren Christopher and William J. Perry (Op-Ed, Oct. 21), it is a strategic imperative that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization shift "emphasis from defense of members' territory to defense of common interests." Out of context these are nice-sounding words. In context, they portend disaster. The Christopher-Perry thesis carries with it the dangerous idea that it is the rich, predominantly white nations' burden to define how the rest of the world is to act. This project is counter to the direction intended at the end of World War II, when it was taken for granted that the world's common interests could best be represented in the United Nations.

Expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But the answers do not necessarily correspond with reality. Foremost is the question of NATO's future relations with Russia. Mr. Christopher and Mr. Perry envision a benign relationship between the two based on the NATO-Russia Founding Act, which notes that NATO and Russia do not consider one another adversaries. On the other hand, Jesse Helms, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, is on record as a supporter of expansion only if it is designed to counter Russia. Obviously, the desirability of any future configuration of NATO depends on Russia's likely reaction. Too often, this issue is relegated to the misty premises of the argument rather than laid down as its foundation. We need to know why Russia would respond positively to military encirclement and why, conversely, the absence of NATO expansion would promote Russian aggression.

BEAR F. BRAUNMOELLER
Ann Arbor, Mich., Oct. 21, 1997
"Original Mission?"
To the Editor: Warren Christopher and William J. Perry (Op-Ed, Oct. 21) claim that the "original military mission" of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was to deter an "attack from the Warsaw Pact." NATO was formed in 1949. The Warsaw Pact was not created until 1955, in response to an earlier NATO expansion, to wit: the admission of West Germany in 1954. NATO's "original military mission" was to project American influence onto the European continent, the same goal as the current expansion plan. MICHAEL J. SULLIVAN JR. Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1997
The writer is a professor of politics at Drexel University.

Re-elect Mayor Giuliani

This year's mayoral campaign has been, by any standards, a disappointment. The Democratic nominee, Ruth Messinger, has criticized Mayor Rudolph Giuliani endlessly, but failed to give the voters a sharp sense of her own political philosophy. Ms. Messinger, who has a long and distinguished career in local politics, deserves to be remembered for her previous service to the city rather than for this uninspiring race. But even if she had run a model campaign, it is hard to imagine how she could have made a convincing argument for getting rid of Mr. Giuliani. Despite the many disagreements we have had with the Mayor over the last four years, we endorse his re-election enthusiastically.

Mr. Giuliani's combative temperament is a bit like nuclear fission. Harnessed in the right way, it is a tool for progress, drilling through previously impervious bureaucratic and political barriers. Some of Mr. Giuliani's well-chosen targets have included the Port Authority, the State Legislature and the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association. His pugnaciousness is less attractive when it is aimed at an individual whose only sin was to make a legitimate criticism of the administration. The public got another sampling of that knee-jerk inclination to lash out at opponents recently when the Mayor delivered a divisive assault on Ms. Messinger for failing to finish the route of the Columbus Day parade.

The critical problem with the Democratic campaign became apparent at the first mayoral debate, when Ms. Messinger tried to deny that New York's quality of life had improved over the last four years. She was arguing against the voters' own sense of reality. Crime is down dramatically. New jobs have been created in the private sector. The welfare rolls are smaller. The city has a budget surplus. The school system has a new, more rational structure. Tourism is skyrocketing, and the city's reputation as a good place to visit, live or do business has improved dramatically.

The best and worst of Mr. Giuliani's style showed in his fights over education. The public school system was virtually ungovernable when he took office, with impossibly complicated lines of authority and a culture of non-achievement in many districts. The Mayor has little real power over the schools, but his over-the-top behavior in starving the education budget, persecuting the former chancellor and terrorizing the school board created a sense of crisis that did bring about the impetus for change. We cannot buy into Mr. Giuliani's claim that his performance was a carefully calculated tactic. However, it did focus public attention on the problems long enough to get real reform, and we believe he is sincere in his intention to create a better learning environment for the city's children over the next four years. Still, it is not an experiment we would like to see tried very often. Instead of being improved, the school system could very easily have been shattered.

Each of these achievements is subject to caveats. Crime is down across the country. But under Mr. Giuliani, the improvement has gone beyond a mere reduction of felonies, to a higher expectation of civility. New Yorkers no longer apathetically assume that they have to put up with aggressive panhandlers, squeegee men or parks full of makeshift bousing encampments. Most residents have an increased sense of control over their neighborhoods, and this is most critical in poorer sections of the city. Low-income black and Latino families are no longer expected to reconcile themselves to gunfire in their streets and drug dealers on their doorsteps.

Due to term limits, Mr. Giuliani will have at most another four years at City Hall. If he is re-elected, his opponents will be less willing to roll over, and he will have to win future victories with more negotiation and less bluster. He will also need to attract a new cadre of top managers to fill out the ever-shrinking circle of advisers and commissioners. Mr. Giuliani does not share the spotlight readily, and after four years of his administration, there are few stars and many yes-men and -women at City Hall.

Mr. Giuliani's fiscal record has been helped along by a booming national economy, which produced budget surpluses during the last part of his term but did not end the long-term boom-and-bust pattern of the city's finances, or the huge projected deficits a few years down the road. Nevertheless, the Mayor scored some impressive successes. He made hard choices during his first years in office. Unlike his recent predecessors, who also knew how to cut when times were tough, he did not return to business as usual once the economy improved. The head count in city agencies has not ballooned back to its pre-austerity level. He kept his promise to reduce taxes with modest, targeted cuts aimed at encouraging business growth.

Ethics has, surprisingly, been a weak spot for Mr. Giuliani, who seems to believe that his administration is too honest to need much regulation. Mr. Giuliani's tenure has been blotted by instances in which he failed to abide by standards he demanded of others, from his insistence on using city funds to pay for what were basically re-election ads to his refusal to acknowledge that there is any problem with maintaining two politically powerful allies as advisers to the administration while they work for a lobbying firm that does business at City Hall.

When it comes to economic development, though, Mr. Giuliani's biggest achievement was his battle against organized crime at the wholesale food markets. New York has long suffered from the perception that the city is overrun with crooked unions and extortionate industries under mob control. The war to clean up the Fulton Fish Market and Hunts Point Produce Market, and even the Mayor's insistence on forcing new management on the San Gennaro festival in Little Italy, had a critical symbolism. Coupled with the dramatic reforms in the carting industry and the unions working at the Javits Convention Center, the Mayor's initiatives were a giant leap in convincing businesses that they can come here without worrying about overt and hidden shakedowns.

Given Mr. Giuliani's overall record and the weak campaign Ms. Messinger has waged, pointing out these faults does not argue against the Mayor's re-election. But Mr. Giuliani's ability to moderate his style may make all the difference in the legacy he leaves behind. If he curbs his worst tendencies and gives full rein to his energy, determination, intelligence and independent thinking, he may go down in history not simply as a competent politician who rode out some favorable economic and social trends, but as a Mayor who turned New York City around and reshaped its future.

New York was ready for a dramatic turnaround when Mr. Giuliani took office, and that need became even more urgent when a new Republican Congress began shutting down the old pipelines of economic support to cities and the poor. A place this big, with so many jealously guarded bits of political turf, does not turn easily. New York, like many cities, favors mayors who bring forceful and at times obsessive leadership. Mr. Giuliani projects that quality. Ms. Messinger, despite her deep understanding of city issues, seems more professorial or bureaucratic in temperament.

Beware Russia's Reaction

To the Editor: "NATO's True Mission" (Op-Ed, Oct. 21), by Warren Christopher and William J. Perry, provides answers to key questions in the debate over expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But the answers do not necessarily correspond with reality. Foremost is the question of NATO's future relations with Russia. Mr. Christopher and Mr. Perry envision a benign relationship between the two based on the NATO-Russia Founding Act, which notes that NATO and Russia do not consider one another adversaries. On the other hand, Jesse Helms, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, is on record as a supporter of expansion only if it is designed to counter Russia. Obviously, the desirability of any future configuration of NATO depends on Russia's likely reaction. Too often, this issue is relegated to the misty premises of the argument rather than laid down as its foundation. We need to know why Russia would respond positively to military encirclement and why, conversely, the absence of NATO expansion would promote Russian aggression.



Jean-Philippe Vignon

On Asian Currencies, Markets Don't Know Best

To the Editor: "An 'Asian Miracle' Now Seems Like a Mirage" (front page, Oct. 22) says "heedless spending," "over-ambitiousness" and "self-indulgence" were the sins for which Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia were punished in securities and foreign exchange markets. Missing is an explanation of how, precisely, government profligacy caused the crisis.

planation of how, precisely, government profligacy caused the crisis. If the Malaysian Government spent large sums on environmental protection and education instead of on the projects you mention, like skyscrapers and big dams, would currency traders have refrained from attacking the ringgit, the Malaysian currency? Not likely. In focusing on examples of wanton spending, you miss the larger picture: with the internationalization of financial markets, national economies (particularly developing countries) have become more vulnerable to the dictates of those markets, and governments are therefore more constrained in the policies they can pursue. The same market forces that "discipline" governments may constrain the pursuit of higher social goals.

New Gay Newspaper Is Cause for Optimism

To the Editor: I wish to clarify my comments in "A Mini-War of Gay Newspapers: A New Weekly Draws Fire Even Before Its First Issue" (news article, Oct. 22). While I am critical of the refusal of both The Washington Blade and The New York Blade News to include editorial pages, and while I expressed concern over The Washington Blade's linking up with News Communications Inc. to found The Blade News, I stated emphatically that The Washington Blade is among the best lesbian and gay papers in the country. I also expressed overall optimism about its creation. MICHELANGELO SIGNORILE New York, Oct. 23, 1997

It is questionable that financial markets know best, as you appear to assume. That assumption is not supported by the contagion effect we are witnessing in which a decline of confidence in one currency has generated a decline in confidence in the currencies of surrounding nations regardless of differing economic circumstances. JENNIFER METZGER New York, Oct. 22, 1997

Creative Support

To the Editor: Larry Kramer has gone too far in his criticism of a gay newspaper that accepted financial support from heterosexuals (news article, Oct. 22). Were the producers of his recent plays homosexual, heterosexual or both? I'm sure that if he accepted backing from either, or both, it didn't conflict with his creativity. After all, didn't Barbra Streisand buy the film rights to Mr. Kramer's "Normal Heart"? FRANK PERICH New York, Oct. 22, 1997

For the Homeless, A Dismal Equality

To the Editor: The establishment of a reserved sleeping area for homeless people on a downtown Los Angeles sidewalk (front page, Oct. 23) recalls an observation by Anatole France. The French novelist once noted that "the law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges." In our more enlightened age, it can be presumed that both classes in Los Angeles will have an equal right to set up cardboard boxes and bed down in that location. LLOYD L. BROWN New York, Oct. 23, 1997

A Loughlin Education

To the Editor: Joe Claro (letter, Oct. 24) takes exception to your statement that Bishop Loughlin Memorial High School in Brooklyn "was known as an elite school ranked with Stuyvesant High School" (obituary, Oct. 22). He sweepingly asserts "that Loughlin was considered by many Roman Catholic parents to be only a cut above average public high schools." It is true that one, two or three boys from each parish in the region were selected, but contrary to Mr. Claro, they were those who scored highest on the exam out of the 60 or more students who took it. Moreover, once they entered Loughlin, they were subject to rigorous academic discipline comparable to Stuyvesant's. A great many were expelled by the end of the first year for failure to maintain academic standards or discipline.

With this institutionalization of homelessness, can "alternate-side-of-the-street sleeping" be far behind? After all, it would allow for regular sweeping of the area and more sanitary conditions. Will the city issue summonses for sleeping on the wrong side of the street? Or not awaking by 8 A.M. to change sides? HENRY DLUGACZ PABLO PAGAN New York, Oct. 23, 1997

Editorial Notebook

India Wrestles With the Raj

A Queen's Gesture of Penitence Reignites a 50-Year-Old Debate

The novelist Paul Scott described India and Britain in the last days of the raj as "locked in an imperial embrace of such long standing and subtlety it was no longer possible for them to know whether they hated or loved one another." Earlier this month, those ambivalent emotions flared again as Queen Elizabeth tried her best to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Indian independence. There was the Queen venturing to the northern Indian city of Amritsar, where she reflected sorrowfully on one of the great atrocities of British rule, kicking up clouds of nostalgia, resentment and hurt feelings. The Queen's visit to the walled garden of Jallianwala Bagh, where thousands of unarmed civilians were mowed down by British troops in 1919, was not seamless. Even as she placed a wreath at the garden and wore a saffron dress, the sacred color for Sikhs and Hindus, Prince Philip could be heard on the sidelines belittling the death toll claimed by India. Prime Minister I.K. Gujral of India dismissed the need for a royal apology in a tone of let-by-gones-be-by-gones, then called Britain a "third-rate country" after it was reported that London had offered to mediate between India and Pakistan.

has failed to preserve the gifts Britain left behind. But of course, the army, the culture of ruling elites, the civil service and other creations of the raj were designed not to instill democracy but to bring India to heel. Small wonder that they have been corrupted over time as New Delhi sought to lift India out of poverty and tame what Nehru called its "fissiparous tendencies." Amritsar is a symbol of Indian as well as British blunders. While there, the Queen also visited the Sikh religion's Golden Temple, which by 1984 had become an arms depot for Sikh terrorists, whose secessionist campaign posed a grave threat. Acting in imperial style, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, directed the army that year to seize the temple in a bloody raid that left more than 700 dead and led to Mrs. Gandhi's assassination several months later by Sikh security guards. India's rolling crises have now shifted to Muslim-dominated Kashmir, where at least 100,000 troops are stationed to quell a rebellion. The fact is, India was a more impoverished country after British rule than before. The raj exploited its divisions and educated only the elite. At the end, Britain left in such haste that no one was prepared for the Hindu-Muslim conflagration triggered by the partition of India and Pakistan. Paul Scott's "Raj Quartet" closes with its British protagonists labeling those riots "our crowning failure."

In an era when political leaders are apologizing for historical misdeeds, India is surely a distinctive case. Many of its citizens retain a benign attitude toward their former oppressor, symbolized best by a pervasive feeling among the intelligentsia that the old imperial institutions have declined since the "tryst with destiny" proclaimed in 1947 by the founding Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. Implicit is the idea that India

India's struggle to remain free, secular and united still stirs the emotions. But one must admit that there is an imperial dimension to this vision, and an anxiety over whether it will be imposed by force on India's sprawling landscape of ethnic, religious and linguistic entities. The drama of India's next 50 years will no doubt be its struggle to follow a democratic path, transcending the iron fist inherited from the raj. STEVEN R. WEISMAN

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The Interior Decorator

Essay

مكتبة النور

ambition

Russian aggres- F. BRAUNOELLER Oct. 21, 1997

ambition?

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er one year, he told the Senate he was not influenced by the White House. But this year a Harvard friend of his, Paul Eckstein, who had made a vain pitch for the Chippewas, swore that Babbitt told him at the time that the opposing tribes had contributed something "on the order of half a million dollars" and that Jakes at the White House had ordered him to make the decision.

er kicked in \$300,000 to Democrats. The Chippewas sued; a Federal judge held in March that "there is a distinct possibility that improper political influence affected" Interior's decision.

er Now Secretary Babbitt has some heavy explaining to do. Last year, he told the Senate he was not influenced by the White House. But this year a Harvard friend of his, Paul Eckstein, who had made a vain pitch for the Chippewas, swore that Babbitt told him at the time that the opposing tribes had contributed something "on the order of half a million dollars" and that Jakes at the White House had ordered him to make the decision.

er Babbitt has now artfully changed his story. "I do believe that Mr. Eckstein's recollection that I said something to the effect that Mr. Jakes wanted a decision is correct," he wrote Senator Fred Thompson two weeks ago. Babbitt, who still loyally denies being influenced, refuses to be deposed by Senate staff before testifying, preferring that his questioners be unprepared.

er Does this potential bribery touch Bill Clinton? Among the documents that White House Counsel Charles Ruff improperly fights to keep from view is a note from the President to chief of staff Leon Panetta described only as "Hudson casino matter."

er Clinton was obviously worried about revelations of influence-peddling as Election Day approached. Another memo he's hiding under a privilege claim is dated Oct. 22, 1996, from an associate White House counsel to an aide to Harold Ickes on "status of Hudson casino litigation." Another came the next day from Panetta to the President, same subject, answering Clinton's note by transmitting a memo from a White House counsel to an Ickes aide.

er Did the money-hungry President, through his political henchmen Lindsey and Ickes, put in the fix to his Secretary of the Interior for a \$300,000 contribution?

er Congress has prodded a reluctant Justice into an inquiry; the specific information behind that question might induce Janet Reno to seek appointment of a RICO-minded Independent Counsel.

er We can also hope this Clinton exploitation of Native Americans will cause Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell to reject the nomination of the lobbyist for a crooked casino to head Indian Affairs at Interior.

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

The Interior Decorator

WASHINGTON Gambling tends to corrupt; political power purchased by gambling money corrupts absolutely. Nowhere is the gambling industry's evil more blatant than in its use of American Indian tribes as fronts, and in its enrichment of politically adept tribal leaders — at the expense of other tribes and the reputation of all Native Americans.

Kevin Gover of Albuquerque is the gambling lobbyist for the Tesuque (te-SUE-key) Pueblo tribe. On Feb. 20, 1996, Gover met President Clinton at a White House coffee; the Pueblo of Tesuque subsequently gave \$50,000 in soft money to the Democrats.

Mr. Clinton rewarded the lobbyist with nomination to be Assistant Secretary of Interior for Indian Affairs. Two weeks ago, Federal Judge James Parker declared Mr. Gover's client, the Tesuque casino, to be a "criminal enterprise" using "money that is derived from unlawful conduct."

Thus does crime pay. Fund-raiser-lobbyist Gover, whose Senate confirmation hearing is scheduled for Thursday, will be in a position to use Federal power to encourage generous criminal gambling enterprises-to-blessom on reservations across the land. He'll fit right in at Interior. Bruce Babbitt's domain seems to have been the Indian fund-raiser's target for a lucrative political fix.

"Talk to O'Connor here," Mr. Clinton said on April 24, 1995, to his closest aide, Bruce Lindsey, "about his concerns about tribes that he represents." Patrick O'Connor is a former D.N.C. treasurer whose clients are gambling-rich tribes in Wisconsin eager to stop three Chippewa tribes from competing with them with a new casino at a racetrack in Hudson, Wis. Despite a written warning from an aide that "we legally cannot intervene with the Secretary of Interior on this issue," Lindsey apparently obeyed the President's order because wheels were soon in motion to hock the Chippewas: O'Connor and his tribes met with D.N.C. chairman Don Fowler the following week; Fowler contacted Harold Ickes at the White House and got him to lean on Bruce Babbitt at Interior. Ickes professes no recollection of this.

Conspiring at high levels.

Result: Interior ruled against the poorly connected Chippewas, to the delight of the opposing tribes, which in gratitude for their casino monopoly

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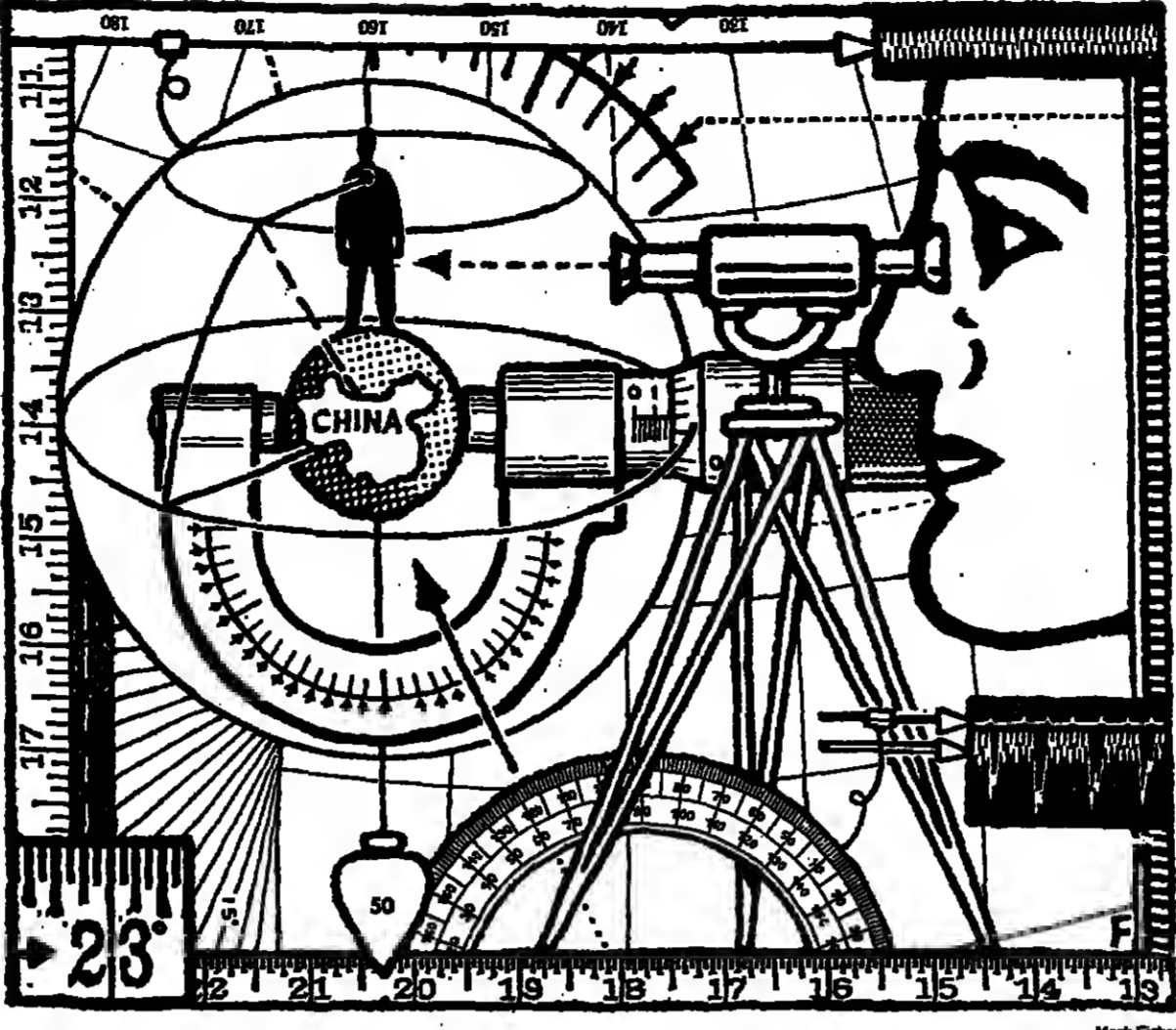
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Virtue by Other Means

By Owen Harries

WASHINGTON THE issue of human rights always figures prominently in American foreign policy discourse. This year, the sustained focus on China — now culminating with the visit of President Jiang Zemin — has given it a particular salience and intensity.

Many, perhaps most, Americans of all political persuasions believe profoundly that it is their nation's right and duty — indeed its destiny — to promote freedom, justice and democracy in the world. As President Clinton said in his speech on China two days ago, "To do otherwise would run counter to everything we stand for."

It is a noble and powerful impulse, one not casually to be ridiculed or dismissed. But acting on it — if one is concerned to be effective — is not merely to feel virtuous. It is more complicated and difficult than many human rights activists will allow.

Typically, the proponents of human rights see things in straightforward terms. They regard those rights as absolute, and demand consistency in their application, denouncing anything less as hypocrisy and cynicism. These denunciations are given some plausibility by the failure of administrations to live up to inflated official rhetoric on the subject. But the truth is that while individuals and special-interest groups are free to give human rights absolute and unqualified priority, governments are not.

For the activist, human rights are a cause. But when they are incorporated into a government's foreign policy, they become an interest, one among many. Their claims have to be balanced against those other interests, many of which — apart from having a compelling practical importance — have moral content and moral claims of their own (for example, peace, security, order, prosperity). The place that human rights will occupy in the hierarchy of interests will necessarily vary from occasion to occasion.

Sometimes, as when the violation of rights is horrendous and no other vital interest is at risk, they will rank very high; sometimes they will have to give way to other compelling interests. America's wartime alliance with Stalin's Soviet Union is a striking example of such a subordination.

It would be convenient if all one's interests always pointed in the same direction, but they don't. In his celebrated essay, "Two Concepts of Liberty," Sir Isaiah Berlin makes this point in somber terms: "If, as I believe, the ends of men are many and not all of them are in principle compatible with each other, then the possibility of conflict — and of tragedy — can never be wholly eliminated from human life, either personal or social. The necessity of choosing between absolute claims is then an inescapable characteristic of the human condition."

Not hypocrisy or cynicism, note, but "an inescapable characteristic of the human condition."

ingly important country. The discussion has been framed in terms of a choice between containment and engagement. They are inadequate terms. But it should be noted that we have something better than abstract speculation to go on concerning their respective merits.

What good comes from hyperventilating about China?

one center. You may then begin to appreciate the problem that the governing of China would present even to the smartest of governments — let alone to a bunch of elderly men saddled with very bad and outdated political habits and a distorting ideology.

It will also help to keep some numbers in perspective — and while for the moralist every individual counts, in politics numbers matter. According to human rights activists, the number of political prisoners in China currently is 3,000 — which is 0.00023 percent of the total population. (Given the many recent articles that have presented a China that seems hardly distinguishable from the totalitarian horror of the mid-century, I should report that in Beijing recently I asked a group of Western correspondents how thuggish they considered the regime to be these days. Offered a choice between Louisiana in the 1950's and Mussolini's Italy, they all opted for Louisiana.)

Second, in this century, China has experienced the collapse of a traditional regime, warlordism, civil war, invasion, famine and mass terror. A mere quarter century ago it was still experiencing a massive convulsion brought about by the manipulations of a megalomaniac (one, let us remember, who at the time was admired as a font of wisdom by many in the West). A country with that abysmal record is likely to put an unusually high premium on maintaining order and stability, and be willing to subordinate much to achieve those ends.

Third, for the last two decades or so China has been experiencing what is probably the fastest rate of economic growth and transformation in human history. In the late 1970's Deng Xiaoping declared that the Chinese economy would quadruple in size by the end of the century. At the time it seemed just another extravagant Communist boast, but China has already passed that target.

THE effects of this extraordinary progress are complex. On the one hand, the present must seem like a golden age for most Chinese: there is order, there is peace, there is unprecedented prosperity, and the state weighs less heavily on their backs than at any time in the last 48 years. On the other hand, the frantic growth has also created serious strains and problems, among them pervasive corruption, environmental devastation, unemployment in state enterprises and a failure to develop institutions essential to the new economy (including legal and banking systems).

For the ruling elite these and other problems raise serious uncertainty about control and stability. Fear of things getting completely out of hand — what President Clinton rightly referred to as China's "historical fears of chaos and disintegration" — must be real. Urgent domestic pressures and opportunities are what will determine the behavior of the Chinese leaders in the foreseeable future, not outside influences.

Still, the United States will have to decide on a policy toward this increas-

In America BOB HERBERT

3:00, Nowhere to Go

The peak hours for juvenile crime are 3 P.M. to 8 P.M., with the biggest, most dangerous burst coming in the very first hour after school.

"In the one hour after the school bell rings, juvenile crime triples," said Sanford Newman, a lawyer and president of a national organization called Fight Crime: Invest in Kids. The fundamental problem, of course, is a lack of adult supervision. The number of families that leave children unsupervised for part of the day has increased drastically in the past two to three decades. More women are working, more couples are divorcing and more children are being born to single mothers. After being closely supervised all day, millions of youngsters find themselves suddenly on their own at 3 P.M.

A report prepared for Attorney General Janet Reno by Mr. Newman and James Alan Fox, dean of the College of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University, said: "Experts estimate that between five and seven million 'latchkey children' go home alone after school, and that roughly 35 percent of 12-year-olds are regularly left to fend for themselves while their parents are at work." A lot of those kids get in trouble. Some will vandalize property, some will do drugs, some will have sex (the hours immediately after school are the peak hours for the conception of teen-age pregnancies), some will join gangs and some will commit violent crimes.

The report to Ms. Reno focused on the crime problem and said a national commitment to well-run after-school programs would be among the most effective ways of responding to it.

For over the last half century the United States has tried both. From 1949 until 1972 it opted for containment, nonrecognition and virtually all engagement — and that period was one of almost uninterrupted disaster and misery for the Chinese people. From 1972 until now, the United States has opted for active engagement — and, despite occasional setbacks, those years have been ones of spectacular improvements both in economic conditions and, yes, human rights.

This, of course, does not establish a direct causal relationship between engagement and improvement. But the two are surely not entirely unrelated, and the President is right when he insists that America must now stay on that course of engagement.

cial, prosecutors and victims of crimes. Youth programs are seen as a critical crime-fighting tool by police departments across the country. A national survey of police chiefs found that 82 percent believed the nation could make much sharper inroads against crime if there was a willingness to invest more in youth development programs and activities.

In an interview last week, Police Chief George Sweat of Winston-Salem, N.C., said: "In our local system

Peak time for youth crime.

we used to have after-school sports and they cut back on them in the late-80's, and I think that's been one of the problems we've had with crime after school. It's since then that we've felt the brunt of the juvenile crime."

Chief Sweat said Winston-Salem had been considering the possibility of an 11 P.M. to 6 A.M. curfew for young people, but when he looked at the peak hours for juvenile crime he quickly found that the overnight period was out the window.

"It just blew us away," he said. "There was no comparison. It was that period after school when we were finding our juvenile suspects and our juvenile victims. Right after school is when most of the kids are still congregated together, they haven't totally dispersed, and that's who you see the influence of the bad kids. You know, 'Let's follow the leader.'"

"The other kids get caught up in it. The fisticuffs. They go the 7-Eleven and shoplift. The statistics will show you that the after-school programs are far more important than a curfew."

Mr. Fox said the need for after-school programs will only grow over the next several years as the nation's teen-age population increases substantially. But he cautioned against seeing such programs simply as a way of fighting crime.

"They will reduce crime," he said, but they are needed for other reasons as well. "It is not a great idea that we have more and more kids who are getting less and less supervision. For their general well-being, we need to get more adults into their lives." □

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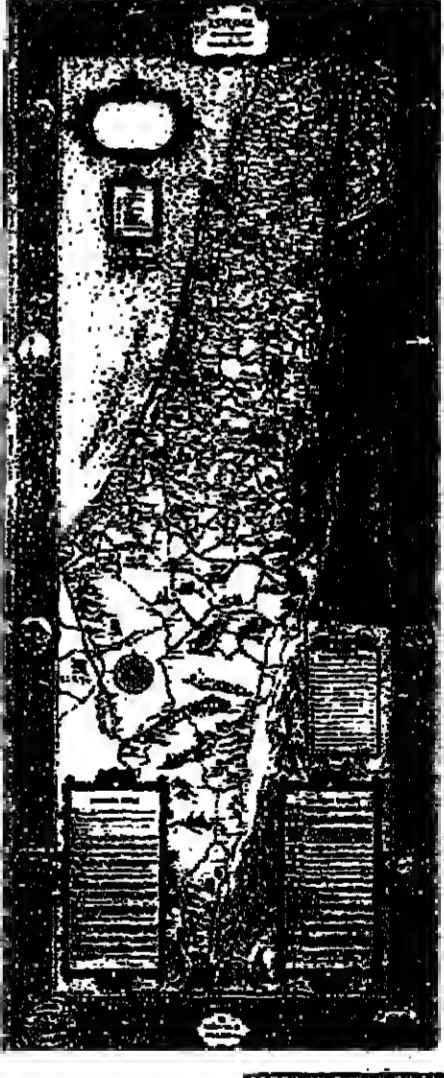
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Georgia on their mind

Aliya may be down compared to the early 1990s – but tens of thousands of immigrants are still making their way here from the former Soviet Union. Aryeh Dean Cohen met with one family and will be checking in with them as they build their new lives in Israel

Nona Sepiashvili's almost constant smile couldn't hide what was on her mind. It's been four months since she, her husband Sergo, their son Misha, her mother Violeta, and her father Samson arrived on a rickety Orbi Airlines flight from Tbilisi, Georgia. And while much of that time has been taken up with the usual immigrants' steep climb – looking for an apartment, visiting government offices, and checking out work possibilities – Nona and the rest of the family have been thinking about only one thing: Nona's 92-year-old grandmother Margot. Visa and health problems forced the family to leave her behind with Nona's sister, and she died a few weeks ago, before efforts to bring her here could bear fruit.

Mention Margot in front of Violeta and she breaks into tears. Even the discomfort of sharing the stuffy three rooms in her sister-in-law's third-floor walk-up in Or Yehuda couldn't compare with the pain of knowing her mother would now never come. With the help of some friends who raised the money for the trip, she was recently able to go back to Georgia to visit Margot's gravesite and see her sister Liana.

The problem, like many faced by new immigrants, was largely bureaucratic. There are no functioning archives of personal records in the now-independent Georgia, where working electricity is rare, at best. So it was practically impossible to obtain a copy of Margot's birth certificate. Without it, the family was unable to prove her Jewishness, which led to questions about Violeta's and Nona's status as well.

The latter problem may be resolved with the help of an affidavit from Jewish Agency officials in Tbilisi, who would testify to the fact that they know the family and that they are all Jews. Her sister might come as a tourist, and for now she and her grandmother occupy most of Nona's thoughts.

As her aunt (a relative of Nona's father) and mother, brought in endless arrays of fruit, pastry and other treats for their guests in the crowded living room. Nona, 27, explained the situation. "My sister couldn't come because we couldn't leave my grandmother alone there. My sister has a child, not

no husband, and they live in a run-down rented apartment," she said in reasonably good Hebrew. "My grandmother knew all about Shabbat, etc. She said she wanted to die here but that she didn't want to die a non-Jew. Then my sister wrote that my grandmother was very sick. My mother didn't know about it. She got very upset."

It's a tribute to the family's steadfastness that they've already managed to accomplish what they have. Besides the problems with her grandmother, Nona's mother has already been hospitalized once here with a heart condition, and Sergo's grandmother was also sick, and he was off visiting her in Bat Yam.

Adding to their burden is the fact that Nona's father, Samson, whose leathery features show signs of having withstood a great deal of struggle in Georgia, has tuberculosis. "He's already been to Kupat Holim and is getting medicine," Nona said, "but it's very hard for us to live together. He's sick, but we can't afford to live separately."

But his illness can't keep the 63-year-old Samson down. Eyeing a pregnant photographer in the room, he immediately tells her: "You've got a boy there," which turned out to be correct. When he first heard about the situation involving Margot, the sickly Samson bravely declared: "I will go bring her here," but he was quickly shouted down. Instead, he spends most of his time playing with his five-year-old grandson, Misha, whom he chased into the kitchen.

Despite all the problems, there is optimism, best characterized by the proud smiles when Nona discusses plans to change the family name



At home with the family, Nona Sepiashvili (second from left) tries to have a positive attitude. From left, her aunt Sima; her son Misha; her father Samson and her mother Violeta. (Sarit Uzley)

For now, they're set to move to their apartment on Rehov Hanadiv, where they will be seven people sharing three rooms – when Nona's sister

profession," said Nona, who knows she will have to take supplementary courses to meet Israeli requirements to work here. Misha, meanwhile, started kindergarten in the fall.

Violeta, 61, grabbed a reporter's arm excitedly as they prepared to go up to the Absorption Ministry room to be processed, like a schoolgirl on her way to the prom. Now, Violeta insists she is still "very happy," but moments later breaks into tears when her mother's name is mentioned.

On that same night of her arrival, Nona was beaming, too, calling her arrival here the most exciting moment of her life. "These problems aren't so bad – there was a war in Georgia, and it was very difficult there," she says, putting away the sheaf of papers concerning her grandmother, which she always keeps nearby. "After all," she says, "I wanted very much, for a long time, to come here."

Despite all the problems, there is optimism, best characterized by the proud smiles when Nona discusses plans to change the family name

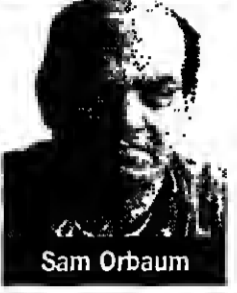
and she had done the early on." ... the early 1970's, spent many weekends at home. We'd eat and ... her head on her chunky ... and we'd just make up ... were a decade of major ... She married and ... had a child. Her moth- ... in a sad foreshadow- ... ovarian cancer at 49. And ... moved into a lesbian so- ... meeting Ms. Desiderio ... on and off the road and ... albums, her voice ... She performed spor- ... usually in places that ... total control over her ... She could not be per- ... for instance, or to ... music in her regular ... show at the Bottom ... is undergoing treatment ... Nyro oversaw the com- ... disk greatest-hits al- ... of Laura Nyro ... Plectric," released just ... This involved argu- ... Records over the ... these, and the lineup, but ... her to review the ... work in her final days ... much aggravation, ... said: "But by the end ... full circle with her ... her final outings. ... The Beacon Theatre ... whom she adored ... she asked her family ... Japanese maple outside ... window, which was ... bed. Ms. Desiderio ... an foundation of ... letters, none ... morning ... answered Mr. ... of New ... Mother's Day ... unanswered ... be finally spee- ... hesitated to ... the whole ... just a ...

Nothing smells like a rose(nberg)

Mel smells. He sniffs armpits, inhales stinky breath, and if you're game – and gamy – he'll venture up your nose. Cheesy feet? Mel will take a snort, with pleasure.

school and told everyone I'd decided to do research on bad breath. They thought I was off my rocker. "In 1983, we organized the First International Conference on Bad Breath – can you imagine? – in Herzliya. We had 42 people from six countries. That got people interested. Two years later, a second conference in Belgium drew 140 people from 14 countries. We were voted the worst conference of the year to go to. Now we have an international society based in Tel Aviv with almost 100 members."

Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

These days, Prof. Mel Rosenberg is a tad smelly himself. "Sorry about that. I'm doing an experiment," says the rank maveo oo had breath and body odors. "I've been doing all kinds of experiments where I don't wear deodorant. I have been, to a certain extent, smelly for weeks." Mind you, he does shower: "If I didn't, people around me would keel over."

Mel, one of the world's experts on personal pungency, operates clinics that attract the raciest members of the human race, a clientele anyone else would sniff at.

From bad breath he branched out. "A few years ago, I started getting interested in body odor," he says, and you can see why. "There are differences, you know. Bad breath is just basically bad breath, but every person has a unique body odor."

"Wherever I've traveled, I've noticed that people have the same sort of bad breath. It's basically the same in all cultures, as it comes from gum disease, or off the back of the tongue, which I believe is the result of post-nasal drip. They're quite similar no matter what the culture or ethnic background."

"We have bad-breath clinics at Sprinzak in Tel Aviv and in London, and a body-odor clinic at the Marom Basel Medical Center in North Tel Aviv, probably the first place in the world you can take a body-odor problem." (If you're on your way, please note: that is not the Basel Hotel. "Some- times patients go there by mistake saying 'Smell me! Smell me!' And they're told, sorry sir, this is a hotel.")

In most cases, Mel says, bad breath and body odor can be treated. He doesn't necessarily have to resort to his smell-and-tell procedure, either. "Now there's a website on bad breath where we give answers and reveal research. We've had about 9,000 'hits' so far – I get

There are, however, nuances. People who eat lots of garlic or onions, perhaps cabbage and broccoli, will exude a corresponding whiff together with basic halitosis. To that list he adds local specialties such as amba and hilpe (fenugreek).

Can Mel sniff someone and say, aha, he's a hilpe eater? "Yes. You can smell the hilpe from their armpits."

Mel has put a lot of thought into that most vexing of human challenges: How to tell someone he smells bad

e-mail from all over the world every day, and I try to help as best as I can without actually smelling them."

(His e-mail address: melros@post.tau.ac.il; the web site: www.tau.ac.il/~melros/Welcome.html)

"The medical professions aren't skilled in smell, though 100 or 200 years ago a physician could make a lot of diagnostic decisions based on smell. Gynecologists still can. In China, it's customary to smell patients."

The Rosenbergs rose – I mean, Rosenbergs rose – has been places you could only dare imagine.

"Yeah, I'll admit, it's a bit weird what I do. My kids have a certain ambivalence to this discipline. But it's a very humorous thing. Sometimes I'll be sitting with my staff and we'll just crack up."

His interest in pignancy piqued at an early age, when he was a lad in Ottawa. (They must be very proud of him.) "I used to like smelling babies' heads. I didn't think it was peculiar. I thought everyone likes smelling babies' heads. Anyway, I had an uncle who had terrible bad breath and I said, 'Uncle George, when I grow up I'm going to do research and I'm going to help your problem.'"

His interest evolved. "You don't go to university to learn this. You can't get a BA in Smell. (A BO, maybe.) It's a difficult area to study." He is, he points out, a microbiologist, not a doctor.

He may be able to smell what you've had for lunch, but he doesn't claim to have superior olfactory senses. "What I have is an overriding curiosity about smells."

If there was any poetic justice, this Jew would have a snozz to make an antisemitic proud. Alas, it's an unobtrusive little thing, rising modestly from between soft brown eyes, just big enough to perch upon it professorial spectacles.

When he's not performing diag-noses, he may be in the lab, a sort of olfactory factory. He has developed new ways to detect and treat body odors, and a technique for sampling armpits.

He helped invent a mouth-wash, Assuta, which is now being launched in England. "It's unique, the only mouth-wash in the world you can actually see working in the sink, because when you spit it out you can see all the gunk attached to the oil droplets."

He has started up a company, InnoScant, that puts out such products as a shoe spray he invented. His major project lately is to invent a safe deodorant.

"In Israel, most deodorants are antiperspirants – which contain aluminum salts. Aluminum is considered by many people to be harmful; it's been implicated in Alzheimer's and other diseases, and may cause cancer, though it's not yet proven. We're in the development stage of an alternative deodorant."

"I'd never given any thought to bad breath, including my own. I even had bad breath and didn't know it. "I was at the dental school in Tel Aviv in the early '80s and I said, hmmm, bad breath, that's interesting. So I went to a library and saw there was hardly any research on it. I went home and said to my wife: 'I've fallen on a gold mine. Here's a research subject that's mainly bacteria, and wow, everybody's interested in it but nobody's doing anything about it.'"

"I went back to the dental

Mel has put a lot of thought into that most vexing of human challenges: how to tell someone he smells bad.

"The answer is, it's almost impossible. If it's someone in your family, you owe it to them, because no one else will tell them.

"Otherwise, if you're really brave you can maybe say something, and some people will appreciate it in the long run. Or you can drop hints, like leaving them a bottle of mouthwash, or deodorant.

"Or you can ask me, and I'll tell 'em."

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DRIVE CAREFULLY

NEWS

of the muse

Art imitates life

Jaffa's Created Theater Company has taken *Penitencia*, by German playwright Heinrich V. Kleist, to International Theater Dialogue week in Aachen, Germany. CTC's founding artistic director Avishai Milstein translated the epic play into Hebrew because its conflicts, gender domination, and the issue of individual vs. the consensus mirror our own lives in Israel. CTC, which works actively for Jewish-Arab dialogue, is based in the old Alhambra movie theater, which the company is renovating. Milstein is also directing a workshop at the festival. The play had its world premiere on Thursday and will premiere at the Alhambra in December.

Also at the festival are two local monodramas, Pini Mittelman in *Morning of Fools* and *Kafkaesque* with Yehuda Almagor.

Helen Kaye

Dancing all the way to the podium

Four choreographers – Rina Schenfeld, Ido Tadmor, Noa Wertheim, and Uri Ivgi – are the recipients of the 1997 Ministry of Education Prize for dance. Schenfeld, founder and director of the Rina Schenfeld Dance Company, will receive the top prize of NIS 50,000 in recognition of her life achievement as a dancer and choreographer. Tadmor will receive two prizes – the NIS 15,000 Performance Prize and Young Artist of the Year. Wertheim, co-creator of the dance group Vertigo, and Ivgi, whose *Open Wound* will premiere at the Curtain Up dance festival next month, will receive second prize in this category. The ceremony will be held at the Suzanne Dellal Dance Center on November 5.

Helen Kaye

Pick of the crop at Tel Aviv's guitar festival

The 14th International Guitar Festival gets under way at the Einav Cultural Center in Tel Aviv from November 14 to 22. As always, the festival celebrates classical, Spanish, jazz, ethnic and pop guitar music. The classical players include Bosnian guitarist Denis Azabagic and Spanish flutist Eugenia Ferrer, the guitar duo of Carmen Ros and Miguel Ferrer, and our own Yoram Hasson playing his arrangements of Yeminite psalms. There's a salute to the great jazz guitarist George Benson with Meir Ben-Michael and his combo; a couple of local R&B combos, Daily Blues and Texas Flood in a program called *Electrifying Blues*; some flamenco with Israeli male flamenco dancer Ariel Eisenberg, the Black Velvet Quartet in Irish and Balkan, and lots more. Tickets range from NIS 45 to NIS 75 for a single performance, with 25% discount on a package of four or more, and different discounts for other deals.

Helen Kaye

Author! Author!

A troop of authors will march on stage at Authors House in Tel Aviv, November 2, recipients of the Moshe Bernstein Hebrew Literature Prizes. They include Gidi Nevo for his novel *Ad Kan* ("Only This Far"), poet Haviva Pedaya for *Mitevo Suma*, which the author has translated simply as "Poems," and literary critic Menahem Ben for his article "Journeying to the Sources of the Spirit."

Helen Kaye

Back-to-back Beethoven

Deutsche Grammophon has announced the release of the Complete Beethoven Edition – 87 discs in 20 volumes – ready for the company's centenary year in 1998. The series features old recordings from the company's vast catalog, as well as new ones covering the entire Beethoven output from his nine symphonies through the chamber works, songs and choral works. Among the musicians featured in this huge edition are Herbert von Karajan conducting both the Vienna and the Berlin philharmonic orchestras, pianist Daniel Barenboim, conductors Claudio Abbado, Lorin Maazel, Leonard Bernstein and John Eliot Gardiner, violinist Yehudi Menuhin, cellist Mischa Maisky, the Emerson String Quartet and many others. Some of the volumes are already available in local record stores.

Michael Aizenstadt

Opera singer on a role

Israeli soprano Anat Efraty, who is spending her second year as a member of the Vienna Staatsoper, is currently with the company in China, performing the role of Barbarina in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*. Upon her return, Efraty will prepare for her first major role with the company – Sophie in *Der Rosenkavalier* by Richard Strauss.

Michael Aizenstadt

Jerusalem violin ensemble tour de force

Les Violons du Roi David (Kinorot Hamelech David), the Jerusalem-based ensemble whose members play in the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, decided, after five years without a musical director, to engage conductor Anita Kamien. The ensemble has just returned from a short tour of France, playing concerts in Montpellier, Marseilles and Six-Fours under Kamien's baton. The program included works by Paul Ben-Haim, Mozart, Grieg, Marín, Elgar, and Bartók.

Michael Aizenstadt

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MOVIE REVIEW

The ugliness of the kitchen-sink drama

By ADINA HOFFMAN

Perhaps best appreciated as a Mike Leigh microcosm, *Career Girls* contains some of the acclaimed English writer/director's best impulses alongside a few of his worst ones. The film evolves as a study in jarring contrasts, since what works in the course of the small, sometimes comic character-drama works wonderfully well, and what fails comes close to disaster.

The picture is simpler in its conception than some of Leigh's recent efforts and focuses on one weekend in the friendship of two very different 30-year-olds, Hannah (Katrin Cartledge) and Annie (Lynda Steadman).

Roommates during college, they haven't seen each other in six years' time, and the film opens with their reunion as mellowed, better-dressed adults.

Annie, a weak-voiced secretary, arrives on the train in London, where she's met by Hannah, who is tougher, more confident and also apparently a good deal angrier than her fragile friend. While

CAREER GIRLS

Written and directed by Mike Leigh. Hebrew title: *Yeladot Kariera*. 91 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children. With Katrin Cartledge, Lynda Steadman, Kate Byers and Mark Benton



Mark Benton stutters, Lynda Steadman twitches, tucks her chin into her chest and blinks nonstop in a needy, bug-eyed way.

Annie still lives with her parents, Hannah rents her own apartment in the city, works for a stationery firm and has spent much of her life bitterly caring for an alcoholic mother.

By alternating between the tentative, present-day exchanges between the women and flashbacks to their younger selves, Leigh manages to depict a bond of plausible density and complication. Although the film's two time frames seem a fairly straightforward device at first, they ultimately allow the director to convey with moving economy the intricate ups and downs and dynamic shifts of the friends' interactions over time. Both have changed a great

deal since they were students, and Leigh's script cleverly introduces us to the women as if reintroducing them to each other. Close as they once were, Hannah and Annie are now strangers in most respects and the movie's richest moments take place as they cautiously attempt to pick up the thread of their long-lost intimacy. Much of the emotional nuance here derives from his improvisational work with the actors and from the lively little starts and swerves of the characters' speech. In this case, each woman's sense of her language and of herself takes surprising shape with the passage of years.

Problems, though, also arise from this time-traveling premise, since Leigh appears to have

instructed the actors to draw a thick line between their "then" and "now" personas. Both Cartledge (who appeared in Leigh's *Naked* and as Emily Watson's prim sister-in-law in *Breaking the Waves*) and Steadman (in her film debut) give powerful and often quite funny performances as the subdued career girls of the title.

Meanwhile, they play the university students in the broadest fashion possible, each basing her character on some obvious physical tic, a strategy which might be fine at an early stage in the character-development process but which, when captured in "finished" form on film, bestows on most of the flashback scenes the grotesquely mannered quality of

an acting-class exercise spun out of control. Cartledge stomps around and growls most of her lines in hostile, nearly incomprehensible high-speed asides, as Steadman twitches, tucks her chin into her chest and blinks nonstop in a needy, bug-eyed way.

And to top it off, Leigh has plagued this otherwise-attractive woman with a gruesome skin disease, and he frequently pushes his camera into tight close-up on these disfiguring scabs as if to rub our faces in her misery. Why? And why make Annie and Hannah's other good school friend an overweight, disturbed young man (Mark Benton) with a terrible stutter?

As is often the case with Leigh's

grubby aesthetic, it is not at all clear what purpose is served by such deliberate flaunting of ugliness.

Though the director would probably defend his choices as "honest" or "realistic," his eye falls only on reality's homeliest details. And in fact, he shapes his stories according to a much more stylized and sentimental set of rules than would someone whose main concern is true grit. (The ending of *Career Girls*, to take just one example, feels completely contrived.)

Still, for all its problems, there is something modest and likable about this film. Leigh's saving grace is his sense of humor which remains in wry place throughout.

English theater abounds this week

By HELEN KAYE

Feast or famine. That's the way it is with local English theater, but starting today there's a couple of weeks with nothing but an English feast.

Tonight, Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* has the first of two performances at Ra'anana's Yad Lebanim. Directed by Maxine Ray, this *Dream* is a bilingual production featuring the Sharon Players (English) together with the Ra'anana Youth Theater and Theater Group (Hebrew).

"I talk to Bottom in English and he answers me in Hebrew," says Gail Summers who plays Titania, "which sort of adds to the magic." Summers has also made the fairies' costumes "because we simply couldn't find anything. I've never made anything before. It's all been great fun. I love Shakespeare and

I've done this play twice before."

The first four days of November have five productions, starting with Neil Simon's *Barefoot in the Park* from the Guild Theater, which "is a departure from what we usually do," cheerfully admits director/playwright Jodie Schenk. "But after *Unadorned* [about five women in a hospital during WWII], we were all so drained that we wanted something fun that we could play with."

"The play shows how easily people can misunderstand what it is they really want," says Laurel Polansky, who plays Corie in Simon's early '70s comedy about a couple who have a falling out over their fifth floor walk-up apartment in New York.

"We're doing it kind of period," she adds. "I wear bell-bottom jeans." It's also at Yad Lebanim, Ra'anana.

November 3 is opening night for the Jest (Jerusalem English Speaking Theater) production of *Mrs. Klein* by Nicholas Wright. The play, directed by Bruce Oppenheimer, is about child psychologist Melanie Klein and stars Dawn Nadel in the title role. "It's a mother-daughter conflict," says Nadel, "and the dead son plays a dominant role in their lives. Melanie is a woman obsessed with her profession who often uses people without realizing it. She's a bit of a monster really, but with tremendous charm."

"I'm enjoying it immensely. And it's wonderful to be directed by a psychologist. He explains the baffling hits in the play and makes them work for us."

On November 4, the Tel Aviv Community Theater production of Jean Genet's *The Maids* opens at Yad Lebanim in Tel Aviv. Genet is

not your average amateur theater fare, director Kelly Hartog admits cheerfully, but audiences need an antidote to Neil Simon-type comedies every once in a while. "Genet takes real emotions, the kind we're taught to suppress very early," she says, "and confronts us with them head on. He can make even abuse sound poetic, but it hits home."

There's plenty of abuse in this very black comedy about a couple of maids who fantasize about the murder of their self-centered mistress. Hartog is an imaginative and meticulous director whose production of *The Woman in Black* won raves in Ireland last spring.

The award-winning Charlestown Theater Group, a guest of the Israel-Ireland Friendship League, presents Brian Friel's *Aristocrats* at Yad Lebanim, Ra'anana, on November 5. The bittersweet com-

edy, like all Friel's plays, is set in the mythical village of Ballybeg. It tells the story of the O'Donnells, now the impoverished remnant of the family that was once the local aristocracy. All they have left is the mansion where they've all come for a family wedding – and a confrontation with the truth.

The group has been active since the 1930s and is still going strong. In 1991 it was national champion with its production of Sam Shepard's *Buried Child*.

And this is how you see everything in one week, says Yanky Fachler, the energetic founding president of EADI (English Amateur Drama in Israel). *A Midsummer Night's Dream* on November 1; *Mrs. Klein* on November 3; *The Maids* on November 4; and *The Aristocrats* on November 5.

There's more to this business than the 'three tenors'

By MICHAEL AIZENSTADT

The last time American tenor David Kuebler sang Alfredo in Verdi's *La Traviata*, in Amsterdam in 1993, he says he had to sing his big aria "with fog on stage; and I had to lie down on my back, unseen by the audience. It was a pretty crazy production by Alfred Kirschner, with nude dancers for Flora's party. Some was quite interesting and I like Alfred a lot, but he definitely has his own ideas about opera." On other occasions Kuebler had to crawl on his stomach while singing in the opera *Faust* or to sing while climbing mountains on the stage.

But this time around there will be no such problems. Kuebler, who has sung in Israel several times in both concerts and opera productions, will sing Alfredo in concert form with the Haifa Symphony Orchestra later this week. No costumes, no make-up, no scenery. Pure music. Can opera work in this way? "Of course. You concentrate on the music and you don't have the distraction of the staging. But there

is also a loss. It's a trade-off, as some dramatic aspects do get lost. Yet sometimes that concentration on the musical end of things can be most rewarding and I enjoy it."

Kuebler likes working with directors. "I never had a bad experience with a director. After all, it's their concept so you have to make an effort and do what they want."

Ten years ago Kuebler, his wife, and their two daughters returned to live in their native land after spending several years in Cologne, where the tenor was a member of the local opera company.

"It was very good for me to be a resident artist because I was at home when my girls grew up." Now the daughters are older, one 22, the other still in high school. "The younger one likes Beethoven and plays the piano, while the older one is into a different kind of music. She does techno. She claims she knows what it is, but I don't. But she has very specific taste and knows the difference between good and bad music."



Tenor David Kuebler's diary is booked through 2002.

On the subject of good music, Kuebler is critical of the phenomenon of the three tenors (Plácido Domingo, Luciano Pavarotti and Jose Carreras). "It gets tiresome. Don't get me wrong, though. Thank God we have these three tenors, but there are other tenors who are more lyrical and less of

the show-off type. I know that to the public all other tenors are overshadowed by these three, but this is not the case." Kuebler adds, "I have many friends who are tenors. Actually I don't remember meeting a tenor I didn't like. We are like members of a special club and we have a lot of respect for each other. I enjoy talking to other tenors very much."

Kuebler's diary already has solid bookings for 2002, but the repertoire he sings has changed from the lyric Mozart roles he used to do in the past.

"It was a logical step for me. Now I sing Alwa in *Lulu* and the title role in Zemlinsky's *Der Zwerger*. I'm glad I spent that time on the classical and Mozart repertoire which is technically very difficult, but now I feel vocally ready to make the move into a somewhat heavier and more dramatic repertoire, and I love it. *Lulu* is such a great opera."

David Kuebler sings Alfredo in the Haifa Symphony Orchestra's season opening production of Verdi's *La Traviata* October 29, 30, November 1, 2, 3.

Sinatra 'planned to marry' Monroe

Just weeks before her death in 1962, Frank Sinatra planned to marry Marilyn Monroe "in an effort to save her from herself," according to a new biography of the singer being serialized in London's *Daily Mail*.

In *Sinatra: The Man Behind The Myth*, author J. Randall Taraborrelli quotes an unidentified friend of Sinatra as saying, "No one will mess with her if she is Mrs. Frank Sinatra. No one would dare." The extract published last week says Sinatra and Monroe began an affair in 1954. He was separated from his second wife, Ava Gardner, and Monroe was divorced from baseball player Joe DiMaggio, her second husband.

They lived together, in a platonic relationship, the book says, until one morning when Sinatra found a naked Monroe choosing juice from the refrigerator. The book says the affair continued on-and-off until Monroe's death of a drug overdose. (AP)

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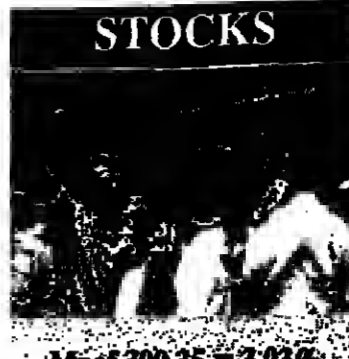
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Main table of stock prices with columns for stock name, last price, change, and last price, change.

TASE follows world markets' fall

Share prices closed sharply lower yesterday in the first Tel Aviv trading session since world markets went on the decline. "Basically it's looking very, very fragile," said Danielle Finn...



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10,563 agorot and Teva Pharmaceutical Industries, down 3.0% to 17,995 agorot. Avi Fischer, executive director for institutional sales at Zamech Securities...

Italy raises \$11b. in Telecom Italia offering

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The Treasury said individual investors, who requested 2.9 billion shares compared to the 1.45 billion shares being offered...

cess among private investors," said Treasury and Budget Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi at a press conference.

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Friday, October 27, 1997

Stocks' fall

It's down to the wire for Marlins, Tribe
Ogea pitches, hits Cleveland to Game 6 win; World Series even

agorot and pharmaceutical industries... AVI FISCHER, executive director of institutional sales at Cantor...

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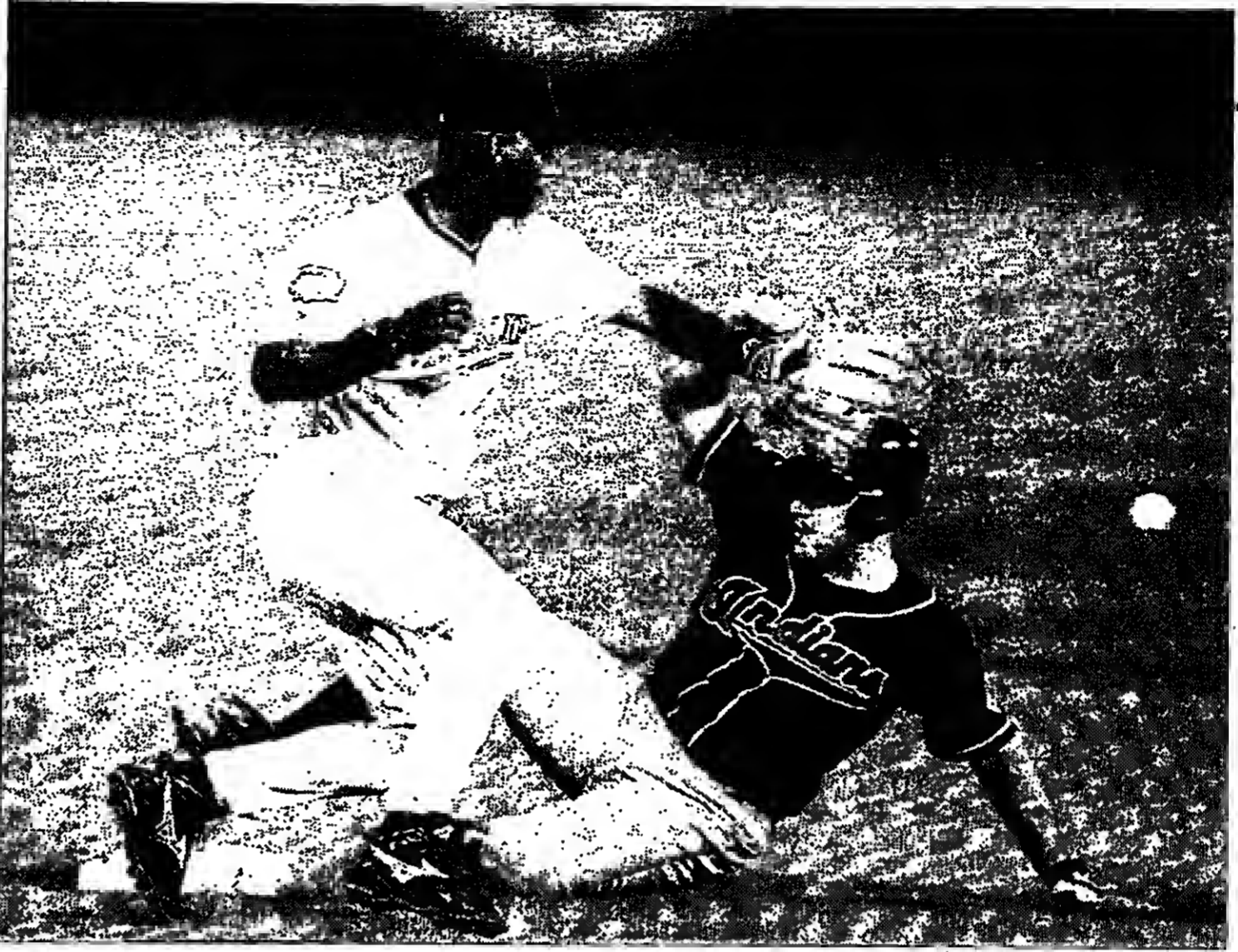
Italy offering... The sale of the 49 percent stake...

MARKETS table with columns for Buy, Sell, Bid, Offer

MARKETS table with columns for Buy, Sell, Bid, Offer

WHERE TO GO... LONDON (Reuters) - England cricket chiefs may introduce tougher out-of-competition drug tests...

MIAMI (AP) - One more chance. For the Cleveland Indians to break their curse... Chad Ogea pitched a gem...



HITTING MACHINE - Indians pitcher Chad Ogea slides into second with a double, his second hit in Saturday's 4-1 win over the Marlins.

Ogea, who had not gotten a hit since high school, batted for a two-run single early and later doubled and scored...

"I was absolutely gassed," Ogea said. Tired from his run around the bases, he gave up Florida's only run in the bottom half on singles by Moises Alou and Charles Johnson...

SA set Pakistan modest victory target Wolverines win Michigan derby, stay unbeaten

FAISALABAD (Reuters) - Spinners Mushtaq Ahmed and Saqlain Mushtaq left Pakistan perfectly poised to win the third and deciding Test against South Africa yesterday...

EAST LANSING (AP) - No. 5 Michigan used six interceptions, including two each by Charles Woodson and Marcus Ray, to beat No. 15 Michigan State 23-7 Saturday...

Washington State (7-0, 5-0 Pac-10) the overtime home victory over Arizona (3-5, 1-4). After Leaf gave the Cougars a 35-28 lead, Arizona pulled within a point on Ortege Jenkins' 6-yard TD pass to Rodney Williams...

- No. 1 Nebraska (7-0) beat Kansas 35-0. Next vs. Oklahoma, Saturday. 2. Penn State (6-4) did not play. Next at Northwestern, Saturday. 3. Florida State (7-0) beat Virginia Tech 27-10. Next vs. North Carolina State, Saturday...

English cricketers may face tougher drugs tests

LONDON (Reuters) - England cricket chiefs may introduce tougher out-of-competition drug tests after this week's doping case involving left-arm spinner Phil Tufnell...

Bruins' win streak snapped at six

BOSTON (AP) - Bill Lindsay broke a tie late in the third period to lead the Florida Panthers to a 5-4 win over Boston on Saturday, ending the Bruins' undefeated streak at six games...

Wolverines win Michigan derby, stay unbeaten

EAST LANSING (AP) - No. 5 Michigan used six interceptions, including two each by Charles Woodson and Marcus Ray, to beat No. 15 Michigan State 23-7 Saturday...

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SPORTS

in brief

Korda ends long wait for victory

STUTTGAERT (Reuters) - Petr Korda claimed his first title in nearly two years with straight sets win over Richard Krajicek at the Stuttgart Open yesterday. Korda's tidy 7-6 6-2 6-4 victory over the 1996 Wimbledon champion gave the 29-year-old Czech double reason for celebration. Not only did the win give him his first title since January 1996 in Doha but it also moved him back into the top 10 of the world rankings for the first time since August 1993.

Gascoigne staying with Rangers

LONDON (Reuters) - Paul Gascoigne looks set to stay with Glasgow Rangers, ending rumors that he might return to England with Aston Villa. The international midfielder was at Highbury yesterday and saw Villa draw 0-0 with Arsenal but explained he was there as part of a birthday treat for his son. Gascoigne told Sky Sports: "I've signed a three-year contract with Rangers. I'm very happy where I am."

Villa hold Arsenal goalless

LONDON (Reuters) - Arsenal failed to get the win they needed to go back on top of the English premier league yesterday as Aston Villa secured a 0-0 draw that eases the mounting pressure on under-fire manager Brian Little. Arsenal were reduced to 10 men in the 82nd minute when French star Emmanuel Petit was sent off after the Frenchman had pushed the referee while reorganizing with him over a booking for Steve Bould. Villa pressed in the final five minutes but Arsenal held on for a share of the points. Earlier, Bolton moved off the bottom with a 1-0 win over Ruid Guilli's fourth-placed Chelsea. The win, only Bolton's second of the season and their first at home, moves them up to 17th, above basement side Barnsley, Sheffield Wednesday and Southampton. Division one result: Queens Park Rangers 2, Manchester City 0.

Local rugby season begins

By JOEL GORDIN. The local rugby season started on the wrong foot at the weekend when only three of the four scheduled games were played. Tel Aviv B withdrew from their game against Kibbutz Yizre'el because, according to a team spokesperson, they had not managed to put together a XV "so soon after the holidays." In the main game at Tel Aviv's Sports Center, Tel Aviv A triumphed Ra'anana 24-7. The Tel Aviv forwards, led by captain Mark Goldin, were too strong for their opponents. Ra'anana are now without veteran captain and fly-half Johnny Saacks who is currently studying at Oxford

Villeneuve wins Formula 1 title

By TIMOTHY COLLINGS

JEREZ, Spain (Reuters) - Jacques Villeneuve landed his first world drivers' championship amid controversy yesterday when he survived a collision with title rival Michael Schumacher in their European Grand Prix showdown. Finland's Mika Hakkinen won the race for McLaren ahead of his British team mate David Coulthard, but Villeneuve finished third to take the title by three points from Schumacher.

Canada's Villeneuve, son of Ferrari legend Gilles Villeneuve who was killed in qualifying for the 1982 Belgian Grand Prix, became the first driver to win the American Indy Car series and then the Formula One championship. Schumacher, who did not finish, and Villeneuve were called to face stewards after the race following a 48th lap incident in which a rash move by the German cost him the championship.

However, the race stewards decided not to take action, saying in a statement they had "unanimously concluded it was a racing accident and no further action is necessary." Williams driver Villeneuve was running second just three-tenths of a second behind Schumacher's Ferrari when he attempted to pass him on the 48th lap of the 69-lap contest. As he plunged and late-braked on the inside at the tight right-hand Expo 92 corner at the Jerez track, he managed to force his car into the lead for the first time, except for the laps during pitstops.

But Schumacher, reacting late, appeared to turn deliberately to the right and into Villeneuve's car, causing a high-speed collision. The incident echoed that in Adelaide in the 1994 Australian Grand Prix, when Schumacher — then also defending a one-point lead in the title race — collided with Briton Damon Hill's Williams and won the title in the most acrimonious circumstances. Then, both cars were damaged and taken out of the race, but this time only Schumacher's Ferrari was unable to continue. His right front wheel rammed into the left sidepod on Villeneuve's car and then bounced away into a gravel trap. Schumacher was unable to recover and Villeneuve, despite fearing his car had suffered serious damage to its suspension, managed to survive, recover his poise and drive on in the lead.



CHAMPAGNE MOMENT - Jacques Villeneuve sprays the crowd with bubbly from the podium. (Reuters)

He stayed in front before easing off on the final lap, allowing the McLaren's of Hakkinen and Coulthard to pass him and take first and second places. Hakkinen claimed his first Grand Prix win at the 96th attempt as he came home 1.654 seconds ahead of Coulthard, who in turn was only one-tenth of a second clear of Villeneuve. "Either Michael had his eyes closed or his hands slipped on the steering wheel," said Villeneuve of the incident on lap 48. "Winning the championship is really just fantastic and this was a tough, physical race. I thought I had a chance to pass him, but I was quite

a long way back and I think he was a little bit surprised. "It was not even 50-50 when I made the move. Michael hit me really hard and I thought my car was broken. I knew Michael was capable of taking me off and he tried to do so. But I had decided it was better to finish in the gravel than to finish second so that is why I went for it. "It has been such an up and down year but in the end we have got the job done. I am really pleased for the team, for everyone and, of course, for Canada," added Villeneuve. For Schumacher and Ferrari, it meant a nightmare end to their dreams of securing a first drivers' title after 18 years.

former Durban Circle Club medal winner and Natal provincial bowler. In the women's all-Ra'anana fours final, Molly Skudowitz a three times runner up in the 80s won her first fours title skipping for Sadie Band, Florie Cohen and Natalie Goldsmith. An all-round team effort saw Skudowitz's side come through to win 24-17 against Arlene Rubin, Hadassah Fisher, Denny Galland and Sylvia Machet. Maureen Hirschowitz, Merle Swerdlow and Isobel Myers, Israel's international trio, outplayed the Kiryat Ono side of Maya Van Creveld, Miriam Cohen and Esti Yosev to the tune of 23-5, for the triples crown. In the women's novices competition, Lorraine Courzin (Ramat Hasharon) beat Shula Sadeh 21-18, while in the men's novices, Haviv Takin (Sayvon) beat Simcha Sadeh 21-14. In the men's seniors (over-65) Ra'anana's Julius Nackle came through in the last two heads to win 21-18 against Haifa's Chaim Katz.

Bransky, Swerdlow crowned lawn bowls singles champions

By NORMAN SPIRO

Cecil Bransky and Merle Swerdlow took the top honors in the annual national lawn bowls championships when they won the coveted singles titles at the Ramat Gan club on Saturday. Bransky beat Haifa's Chaim Shefer 21-18 in a keenly contested game, where Shefer kept naggingly close and drew level at 18-all. In the following last head, Bransky with his last bowl, brilliantly drove the jack to the ditch, simultaneously moving Shefer's lying bowl to the ditch for a three-count and game. The men's pairs final saw Israel's top stars in action. Jeff Rabinuk with Kalie Sacks at lead was up against Bransky skipping for 19-year-old Roy Jennings. With Jennings giving excellent support, Bransky kept ahead throughout, and only a desperate superb trail of the jack by Rabinuk in the 19th head, in rapidly fading light, turned a four-down count to two shots for Rabinuk, to close the

gap to 20-19 and stay in the game. In the final two ends completed the next morning, Bransky and Jennings settled the issue for a 23-19 win. In an all Ra'anana men's fours final, Gordon Silberstein with Len Averbuch, Joe Goldberg and Ivan Kantor won for a second successive time when they beat Zachi Eckstein, Gerald Sacks, David Trappler and Zvi Bekier 23-14. The triples crown was won by Jeff Rabinuk, skipping for his father, Harold, and Jeff Milstein against the Haifa trio of Shefer, Yossi Greenberg and Yair Lieberthal (25-7). Merle Swerdlow added her first singles title to two previous Masters wins when she beat her Ra'anana club-mate Arlene Rubin 21-13. Joyce Geller (Netanya) repeated her 1992 pairs success when she skipped Dolores Lille to win 23-11 against Pinna Gelbissger and Ziva Iron (Sayvon). Recently-arrived Lille showed her worth as a

long way back and I think he was a little bit surprised.

National Basketball League table:

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|-------------------|---|---|-------|
| Maccabi Tel Aviv | 5 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Bnei Herzliya | 5 | 2 | 71.4 |
| Hapoel Eilat | 5 | 1 | 83.3 |
| Maccabi Ramatana | 4 | 3 | 57.1 |
| Gali Elyon | 4 | 2 | 66.7 |
| Fishon Lezion | 4 | 2 | 66.7 |
| Kiryat Motzkin | 3 | 4 | 42.9 |
| Hapoel Holon | 2 | 5 | 28.6 |
| Maccabi Ramat Gan | 2 | 5 | 28.6 |
| Givat Shmuni | 2 | 5 | 28.6 |
| Hapoel Hertzliya | 1 | 6 | 14.3 |
| Maccabi Netanya | 0 | 6 | 0.0 |

NFL table:

| Team | W | L | Pct. |
|-----------------|----|----|------|
| Washington | 17 | 5 | 77.4 |
| San Francisco | 15 | 7 | 68.2 |
| Dallas | 14 | 8 | 63.6 |
| Pittsburgh | 14 | 8 | 63.6 |
| Atlanta | 13 | 9 | 59.1 |
| Indianapolis | 12 | 10 | 54.5 |
| Denver | 12 | 10 | 54.5 |
| Cincinnati | 11 | 11 | 50.0 |
| Kansas City | 11 | 11 | 50.0 |
| Seattle | 10 | 12 | 45.5 |
| Green Bay | 10 | 12 | 45.5 |
| Philadelphia | 10 | 12 | 45.5 |
| Chicago | 9 | 13 | 40.9 |
| San Diego | 9 | 13 | 40.9 |
| Arizona | 8 | 14 | 36.4 |
| Minnesota | 8 | 14 | 36.4 |
| New York Giants | 8 | 14 | 36.4 |
| New York Jets | 8 | 14 | 36.4 |
| Los Angeles | 7 | 15 | 31.8 |
| San Francisco | 7 | 15 | 31.8 |
| Washington | 7 | 15 | 31.8 |
| Denver | 6 | 16 | 27.3 |
| Atlanta | 6 | 16 | 27.3 |
| San Francisco | 6 | 16 | 27.3 |
| Los Angeles | 5 | 17 | 22.7 |
| Washington | 5 | 17 | 22.7 |
| San Diego | 5 | 17 | 22.7 |
| Seattle | 5 | 17 | 22.7 |
| Philadelphia | 5 | 17 | 22.7 |
| San Francisco | 5 | 17 | 22.7 |
| San Diego | 4 | 18 | 18.2 |
| San Francisco | 4 | 18 | 18.2 |
| San Francisco | 4 | 18 | 18.2 |
| San Francisco | 4 | 18 | 18.2 |
| San Francisco | 4 | 18 | 18.2 |
| San Francisco | 4 | 18 | 18.2 |
| San Francisco | 4 | 18 | 18.2 |
| San Francisco | 4 | 18 | 18.2 |
| San Francisco | 4 | 18 | 18.2 |
| San Francisco | 4 | 18 | 18.2 |

CLASSIFIEDS

CLASSIFIEDS section containing various advertisements for real estate, services, and vehicles. Includes sub-sections for 'RATES', 'DWELLINGS', 'SITUATIONS VACANT', 'PERSONALS', 'VEHICLES', and 'UNRESTRICTED'.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFIED OFFER! We want your used car classified ad... And that isn't all... Save another 10%! Includes details on the coupon and terms of publication.

Vertical sidebar on the right side of the page containing various small advertisements and notices.

Naval-raid fiasco report due today

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

The military committee, headed by Maj. Gen. Gabi Ofir, investigating the failed raid into south Lebanon by naval commandos last month in which 12 Israeli servicemen were killed, is expected to hand in its final report this evening.

Military sources said that Ofir's committee investigated possible deficiencies by intelligence and operation officers, but these had no direct bearing on the failure of

the September 4 commando raid.

It also ruled out initial suspicions of an intelligence leak to Hizbullah or the Lebanese Army. It appears that the Ofir committee is reasonably certain that the commando squad tripped a bobby trap set near the village of Ansariya, and their own demolition explosives decimated them later.

The Flotilla 13 raiding party, led by Cmdr. Yossi Kurakin, reportedly carried out the landing and approach to Ansariya without mishap and the intelligence infor-

mation given to them was accurate. The army has said that the commandos' mission was to lay explosives, but foreign reports said they were on their way to kidnap a senior Amal militiaman.

Halfway through their approach, bad luck struck the 16-member force and one member of the team set off a road-side charge. That charge was apparently laid by Hizbullah in a routine safety measure. It reportedly killed Kurakin and wounded others. A second charge then exploded which set

off a demolition charge carried by SPO Itamar Ilya. Those two explosions subsequently killed or wounded most of the force. Only the radioman remained uninjured. It was a full twenty minutes later that Hizbullah and later Amal militiamen and Lebanese Army troops began to open fire on the force, 11 of whom were already dead. In the subsequent rescue operation, Maj. Dagesh Maher, a doctor, was killed. The body of Ilya could not be found and the Lebanese Army later said they

held his remains. Copies of the Ofir inquiry are to be given to family members of the dead.

While not relating to the specific Navy raid, military sources said that the chances of a charge malfunctioning and exploding are slim. But they said that explosives carried on the backs of soldiers could be set off by external elements. The Ofir inquiry also addresses the testimony of six Navy officers, including Brig. Gen. S. the head of Navy intelligence. It is not clear whether the

committee will recommend disciplinary action be taken against these officers or if any will be dismissed. Ofir's report comes as the defense ministry holds its biannual review of the security situation in Lebanon.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai is hosting top IDF commanders today in the shadow of 39 soldiers killed this year with the current tactics of initiated actions from static and often exposed positions across the security zone.

Knesset back in session after 3-month break

By LIAT COLLINS

The Knesset gets back to work today after a three-month recess, with the start of the winter session.

"We're starting off at full volume. All the issues dividing the country will come up in the first week. I expect a stormy sitting and a hot winter." Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon told parliamentary reporters yesterday.

Before today's opening, Tichon will call on party whips to keep tempers calm within their factions. Several no-confidence motions are on the agenda today, and a vote will be taken on a motion which was debated until the early hours of July 30.

The bill would grant Beduin in the south retroactive building rights in several areas. Moledet leader Rehavam Ze'evi turned the vote into a motion of no-confidence to delay its passage. Today's opening session is the first opportunity to hold a vote.

The vote will be followed by a traditional political speech by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Both Meretz and Labor have said they hope to turn the vote on his policy statement into a motion of no-confidence, even if it means delaying a vote for a week.

A no-confidence motion needs 61 votes to pass, which is unlikely to happen. If it did, it could result in new elections for the Knesset and prime minister.

Tichon said yesterday he favors a national unity government as the best possible forum to handle the weighty issue of negotiating a permanent settlement with the Palestinians.

Also on the agenda this week is the first reading of the proposed 1998 budget.

Tichon said that the Religious Councils Law cannot be brought to a first vote this week because of the budget debate which must supersede it.

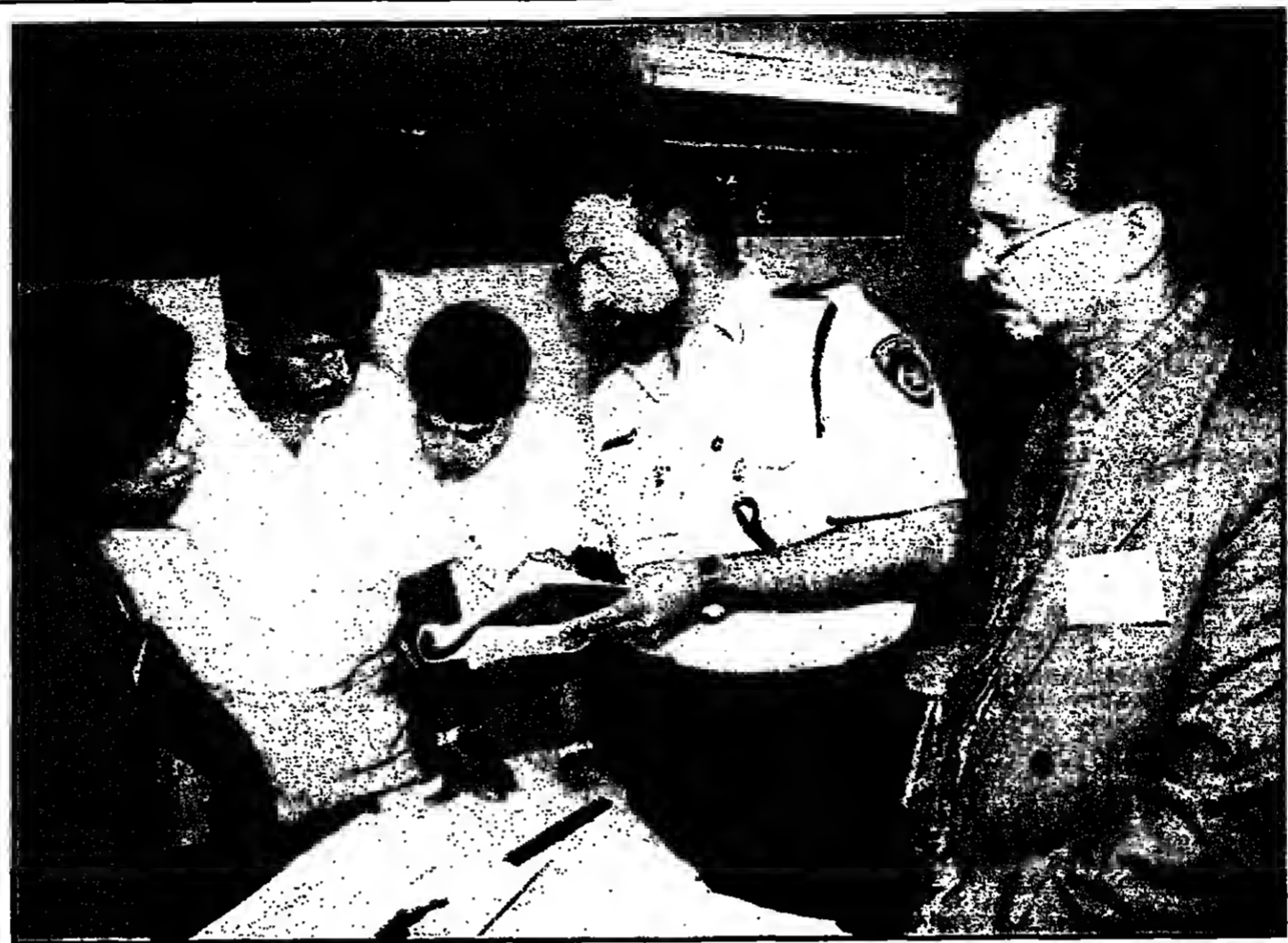
Other issues scheduled to come up in the winter session include a

special memorial session on the second anniversary of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, scheduled for November 12, the selection of a president and state comptroller whose terms expire by the spring, voting on further IDF redeployments and debating the relationship between the Knesset and judiciary.

Tichon intends to go ahead with a plan to institute an Israeli equivalent of parliamentary question time in which ministers would have to answer queries from MKs without preparation.

Tichon said he intends to continue a trend of making the Knesset "younger and livelier."

Labor's Moshe Shahal is expected to resign next month after a 26-year parliamentary career.



Allies in war on drugs

Israel Police Chief Supt. Zafir Goren confers yesterday with Palestinian Police officers (from left) Amal Abu Fanama, Mohammed Ali Abu Draz, Khader Jaber Ali, and Baker Ahmed Maharam at the start of a two-week course in drug identification at Kibbutz Ramat Rahel. Six Gaza policemen are in the course, which aims to help fight the drug trade. (See Malchoa)

Poll: Religious-secular relations will get worse

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Two-thirds of Israelis believe that relations between religious and secular here will only get worse in the future, according to a poll taken recently by the Zionist Council in Israel.

The poll also found that three of four adult Israelis and two out of three young people feel the need for a Zionist movement in Israel. However, among young people, only half those polled described

themselves as Zionists, compared to two-thirds of the adults.

In addition, half of those polled believe that many young Israelis today have almost no connection to their traditions or Jewish identity.

The poll taken for the council, which is affiliated with the World Zionist Organization, was conducted by the Smith Institute during the last week in August. It included 600 adults and 200 young people aged 14-18, and had a 4% margin of error.

Among its other findings:

- More than half of the adults polled feel close to or identify with Diaspora Jewry, and only a third feel distant from it.
- Some 80% support encouraging immigration to Israel, although this figure dropped a bit in the 19-29 age group.
- Slightly less than half of the adults polled favor amending the Law of Return, while 38% oppose this. Only 39% of the young people polled support amending the

law. A total of 72% of observant Israelis favor amending it.

• Three out of four adults polled are opposed to and cannot justify emigration from Israel, with just 19% justifying it. Young people were less critical of emigration, with 27% justifying it.

• 70% never considered emigrating, while 20% do not rule out the idea. Potential for emigration was highest among the secular, those between 19-29, and those who immigrated here after 1988.

Matza agrees to allow added health charges

By JUDY SIEGEL

Health Minister Yehoshua Matza has grudgingly agreed to a so-called Arrangements Law that will allow health funds to charge extra for certain medical treatments and drugs.

Sources said that the ministry had proposed increasing the health tax instead of adding itemized charges. But the government thought that raising the price of the health basket would be more unpopular than charging extra for certain medicines, the sources said.

"We had no choice but to agree," Health Ministry director-general Prof. Gabi Barabash said. "We know it's far from the ideal."

There is concern that anger over additional fees could trigger appeals to the High Court of Justice. Some health funds may also find themselves unable to refuse to provide treatment to members who either refuse or cannot afford to pay.

Meanwhile, a further delay was made in plans to include psychiatric services in the health basket—the latest of several delays in the

last two years in implementing the plan, Barabash said. But a January 1 deadline has been set for including mental health in the basket, he said. The system is intended to remove some of the stigma attached to seeking psychiatric help.

The original version of the Arrangements Law would have given health funds unlimited leeway in adding extra charges for certain treatments, services and medications.

But Barabash said that "an apparatus for setting the ceiling (in

prices) has been agreed." He said that in cases where Matza and Finance Minister Yaacov Neeman disagree over setting a maximum price, the government would step in and decide.

The Health Minister has also been empowered to make sure that the disadvantaged receive discounts.

The Health and Finance Ministries meanwhile decided to continue negotiations over how to cover a NIS 1.3 billion deficit in the health system that has remained unresolved for more than a year.

High Court urged to ban smoking on airplanes

By JUDY SIEGEL

The Society for the Prevention of Smoking, El Al and Arkia stewards yesterday petitioned the High Court of Justice against Transport Minister Yitzhak Levy for failing to carry out a commitment to ban smoking during flights up to five hours long.

Lawyer Amos Hansner, representing the petitioners, wrote in his brief that the minister has yet to impose the restrictions he promised back in May when the petitioners made their first appeal to the High Court. In the meantime, airline attendants exposed to large amounts of cigarette smoke during flights were running 12 times the risk of contracting tobacco-related lung cancer and cardio-

vascular diseases than the regular population, Hansner wrote.

Hansner alleged that Levy has even allowed certain flights to offer larger smoking sections: stewards on El Al flights to Kenya have been told to add five more rows of seats for smokers, he said.

In addition, Levy has allegedly not responded positively to a request by Canadian Transport Minister David Anderson to bar smoking on flights between Israel and Canada.

Transport Ministry spokesman Avner Ovadia said the minister was negotiating to get other airlines to ban smoking as well as El Al.

He estimated it would take about a year for smoking to be banned on all flights to and from Israel.

Woman pilot fights to fly for El Al

By BAT SHEVA TSUR

El Al is refusing to hire an Israeli woman pilot who has chalked up thousands of flying hours, because she has not served in the air force.

Orit Katzir, who is in her thirties, has 10 years' flying experience and is currently a commercial pilot in the US, where she flies the advanced Airbus passenger plane. She also holds an Israeli commercial flying license.

The Association for Civil Rights in Israel appealed yesterday to the National Labor Court to order El Al to employ her, on the grounds that she had been discriminated against because of her sex. ACRI also noted that a male immigrant who had not served in the air force works as a pilot for El Al.

The appeal followed an earlier petition by Katzir to the Tel Aviv District Labor Court, asking that El Al make public its conditions for accepting pilots.

Katzir first applied to El Al in 1993 and asked to participate in a preparatory course for potential pilots. She was turned down, but no reasons were given. When she met with then company head Rafi Har-Lev, he told her that only air force veterans were accepted.

Until a recent High Court of Justice ruling, no women were accepted for flight training in the air force. Yesterday, ACRI asked on behalf of Katzir that El Al change its policy and that it compensate her for damages. After a lengthy debate, the court postponed its decision until a later date.

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WEATHER

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Holla 18-26 | Tiberias 18-26 |
| Afula 14-23 | Sarona 18-23 |
| Tel Aviv 18-25 | Jerusalem 14-24 |
| Be'er Sheva 18-22 | Haifa 18-25 |

Forecast: Temperatures will drop and scattered showers are expected.

AROUND THE WORLD

| City | Low | High | Weather |
|--------------|-----|------|---------|
| Amsterdam | 08 | 16 | rain |
| Berlin | 04 | 10 | rain |
| Bombay | 26 | 32 | rain |
| Buenos Aires | 16 | 22 | rain |
| Chicago | 07 | 13 | rain |
| Copenhagen | 04 | 10 | rain |
| Frankfurt | 05 | 11 | rain |
| Geneva | 06 | 12 | rain |
| Hamburg | 05 | 11 | rain |
| Hong Kong | 26 | 32 | rain |
| Jakarta | 26 | 32 | rain |
| London | 04 | 10 | rain |
| Los Angeles | 14 | 20 | rain |
| Moscow | 12 | 18 | rain |
| Mumbai | 26 | 32 | rain |
| Paris | 06 | 12 | rain |
| Rome | 08 | 14 | rain |
| Stockholm | 04 | 10 | rain |
| Sydney | 17 | 23 | rain |
| Tokyo | 15 | 21 | rain |
| Vienna | 05 | 11 | rain |
| Zurich | 06 | 12 | rain |

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In the second drawing, the winning cards were the 9 of clubs, the jack of hearts, the 7 of diamonds, and the ace of spades.

Various small advertisements and notices on the right edge of the page, including one for 'Buffs for all seasons' and 'Non-Orthodox to delay petitions'.

Handwritten text at the bottom center: **مكاتبنا في تل أبيب**